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A STUDY OF THE DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

In Native Text
Dictated by Witapanóywe

By

FRANK G. SPECK
University of Pennsylvania

Volume 2

[Title Page]

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HARRIET STANFORD SPECK

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FOREWORD



IN offering this volume of source material to serious-minded [2] readers, as well as to that widening circle of students of American ethnology and the history of religions, it is hoped for one thing that by it the literature on the religious aspect of life of the Indians of eastern North America, far too long neglected by investigators of our schools, will be elevated to a station worthy of consideration alongside the beliefs and ceremonies of native peoples in other culture areas of the continent.

Aside from my acknowledgments to Witapano'xwe, whose genial ~~and~~ spirit and fertile mind were the *sine qua non* of the study, I rejoice in expressing them also to certain others; to Albert Cook Myers for having advised me so opportunely in 1928 to apply to the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania for a research grant the very [122] week the Great Spirit sent Witapano'xwe to my office in search of employment; to Dr. H. H. Shenk for his confidence in my ability to carry on the task and for his generous compliance with my desires in connection with it, many of them whimsical I am sure; to the members of the Historical Commission for the absolute liberty granted me during its progress as to time and manner of work; to Florence Insley Speck for the encouragement rendered in her deep respect for and interest in the motifs of Delaware religious performance; to Gladys Tantaquidgeon for her constant encouragement and counsel, and for the indexing, and to Dr. William J. Phillips for critical reading of the manuscript. Indeed, those many individuals vested with administrative authority in the state who have lent their approval and support in various ways to such a project as this one, intended to be of permanent value to our learned posterity, also deserve commendation for their part in the undertaking.

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[Facing p. 5]

Witsapang'wa, "Walking with Daylight." (Photo by W. H. Holden, U. of Pa.)
Narrator of the text, and informant on the Big House Ceremony of the Delawares.

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INTRODUCTION AND EXPLANATION OF THE CEREMONY

It has long been known that the Delaware Indians had a periodic ceremony of paramount importance in fulfilling their obligations toward a pantheon of spiritual forces. We learn something of such a ceremony from indications occurring in the 17th and 18th century sources, among which figure Denton (1670),¹ William Penn (1683),² Brainerd (1745),³ Zelsberger (1779-80),⁴ Lookiel (1794),⁵ and Heckewelder (1771-86, 1818).⁶ First from the casual writings of Dutch, Swedish and English authors we get glimpses of the ceremony while this famous and patriarchal nation was still residing in its haunts in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. With the westward movement of the tribe, first to the valley of the Susquehanna and later to the Ohio country, the missionaries who attempted the conversion of the Delawares have added their comments upon the great recurrent festival, treating it in terms of cool description or in phrases of fervent condemnation according as their attitudes toward it were determined by their profession. [797]

In the accounts we have, the ceremony is referred to under various titles, some in English, some in Delaware; Cantiko, (Penn, 1683), Gamwing, (Zelsberger, 1779), xingwika'on, The Big House, The Annual Ceremony. And it is not a little strange that even the oldest of them are recognized by corresponding terms still current in the language of the tribe at the present time, as clearly explainable today as though we were still holding conference with native priests and patriarchs who had talked with Penn and his contemporaries. That the great rite was of local interest in the religious life of the allied peoples [796, 174, 171]

¹ Denton's Description of New York, formerly New Netherlands, N. Y. 1670.

² William Penn. A Letter from William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania in America to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province Residing in London, London 1683 in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, of New Jersey and Delaware, Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. 1912, p. 234.

³ David Brainerd, Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd, by Jonathan Edwards, New Haven, 1823.

⁴ David Zelsberger, History of the Northern American Indians. Edited by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarz, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, n.d.

⁵ George Henry Lookiel, History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians of North America, London, 1794.

⁶ John Heckewelder, History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States, Edited by W. C. Reichel, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Phila. 1876.

796 comprising the Delaware Nation is evident from all sources. That it
174 ruled the spiritual destinies of the Munsee, the Nanticoke, the Mahikan,
171 we know through collateral evidence, and analogous rites are inferred to
have existed among the Mohegan on the east, the Powhatan peoples of
Virginia and the Algonkian of the Carolina coast. Testimony from
modern sources also points to a related performance of equal promi-
nence in the religious behavior of the Shawnee. It would be an over-
sight besides, not to make reference to certain indications in the re-
corded discussions of Iroquois and Central Algonkian religion, of
periodic ceremonies whose fundamental concepts form more or less
a unit with those of the nation we are considering. Such a widely
spread doctrine with associated rites of a unitary character assure
us of the existence in aboriginal times of a culture-center, as regards
creed, among the peoples of the Allegheny forest area, not only among
the widely scattered Algonkian-speaking peoples but among others
whose early history has been linked by some vague channels with them,
796 for instance the Muskogi and the Yuchi. If it is not going too far, I
174 would venture to repeat the assertion, often made by students of
human culture, that the religious concepts of preliterate people express
the keynote of their cultural status, that the same are to be regarded
as forming their most conservative culture properties, reflecting the
entire system of their culture in ramifications leading off to other topics
of ethnology, the food-quest, social organization, warfare, art-symbol-
ism, as well as rulings of simple custom and ethical character; indeed
where not! This assumption, as we shall see, holds true with amazing
consistency in the native civilization of the Delawares. While the pre-
114 viously recorded accounts of Delaware ceremonies, some of them ex-
plicit in detail and accuracy, have supplied occasional material for
comparative and analytical studies in the ethnology of the eastern
Indians, a feeling of dissatisfaction exists in regard to their content.
This has been sufficient to cause hesitation on the part of ethnologists
in using the records for the purpose of drawing culture conclusions
since the accounts have all been fragmentary and recorded in the words
of European observers instead of being based upon the expressions of
the natives.¹ To have such records made in the words, and with the
order and detail of thought of the people themselves is the highest
ideal of the student of human institutions, an ideal now set up as the
goal of endeavor in research. Accordingly when fate was moved
124 to provide me with a native Delaware informant in the person of
115 Witapano'zwe, a Delaware whose early training, at the knees of his
mother, was of the native, non-Christian type, I need hardly say that
I laid aside every postponable obligation to devote attention to the

¹ More recently we have been bequeathed the excellent studies of eastern Indian ceremonies in native text by students who have recorded them from the dictation of the Indians, such as Hewitt, Jones, Michelson and Bloomfield.

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task of taking down from his lips his version of the entire doctrine 124
 and the ceremony of his tribe at which he had upon so many occasions 115
 been present. The results of our combined effort during four months
 of writing are accordingly laid forth. The entire body of information,
 the arrangement of thought and wording are his; the concepts ex-
 tracted from the teachings of his early life, the ritual procedures repro-
 duced from memory of participation in them, and the monologues,
 are from his memory of repeated hearings by their narrators. The
 mechanical task, the notations, are mine.

Few undertakings in my experience have proved so pleasant. 115
 Witapano'xwe, or War Eagle, (frontispiece) as he is known in his pro-
 fession of herbalist, displayed the patience, the courtesy, and char-
 acter of a gentleman. Representing the type once referred to by
 Doctor Dorsey as a natural gentleman and sport, the Indian was still
 unspoiled by a mercenary and material civilization; the simple-man-
 nered, sympathetic, beautifully poised, contented, nature-loving,
 thoughtful and mystic Algonkian. He deserves more extensive per-
 sonal notice since he typifies Emerson's definition of a great man as
 one "who in the crowd keeps the independence of solitude."

Witapano'xwe, "Walking with Daylight," of the Fowl, or so-called
 Turkey group (pele¹) of the Delawares, was born in the Coowee-
 coowee district of the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, about 1880,
 according to his information, and as such he is listed in the records
 of the Dawes Commission.² His father was a member of the Cherokee
 Nation of the West. Being of Munsee descent on his mother's side
 he was elected to the Council of the Fowl or Turkey division of this
 tribe in 1902, and re-elected secretary of the Delaware executive coun-
 cil by the combined Delaware and Munsee tribes in 1921.

The history of the Delawares shows that they have passed through 174
 a series of momentous culture transitions before and since the com-
 ing of the whites. We assume that before being disturbed by the
 northward advance of the Iroquois they, together with the closely
 related Munsee, presented a type of culture differing from the after-
 period, during which assimilation with the Iroquois had progressed.
 Subsequently came the Dutch and Quaker contacts, ushering in a
 period which ended at the time of the withdrawal of the tribe from
 the east. Then came the period of migration westward, opening
 closer association with the trans-Alleghenian peoples (Wyandot,
 Mingo, Shawnee, Piankashaw, Miami). Their next move brought
 them into the central plains area producing acculturation in external-
 ities with phases of Prairie culture as they met such exponents of

¹ One of the three major social subdivisions of the tribe, for definition of which see page 73.

² His enrollment name is James C. Webber, under Dawes' Commission Cherokee Roll No. 31516.

- 174 this culture area as the Osage, Kansas, Ioway and Quapaw. Then with their final repose under the wing of the Cherokee Nation they felt the touch of the northward-moving Peyote cult; this time an influence affecting the religious fibre of the tribe to a greater degree than had any of the preceding associations with other religious forms, not even excepting Christianity. The span of transition is apparently complete. Its angles are numerous enough to confuse the most systematic ethnologist, even if he had the properties of the various culture-periods blocked out for him. Things, however, are not so fortunate. We have no clear or specific knowledge of the first-contact Delaware and Munsee civilization; only scraps of the post-Iroquoian and post-European periods and almost nothing covering the century of migration from Pennsylvania to Kansas and Indian Territory. Amid the obscurity of our knowledge of the famous tribe through these eras the curtain is now raised for us in the twentieth century. And the ethnologist with methodical equipment and the resources afforded him by the present knowledge of human sciences enters the scene to grapple with the long neglected task. Happily for him, some of the Delawares, faithful to their traditions, are still practising their culture. They have retained their tribal organization, their language, their religious creed and rites, their philosophy of life, their psychological content and some vestiges of their industrial and economic past, handed down either through tradition or usage in remote districts among conservative families. Much of their past culture has indeed been fostered through sentiment and love.
- 121 This is the background out of which we are to construct our picture, to unravel the twisted elements woven into the Delaware culture fabric. From one point of view we are obliged to take the Delawares as they are now, to handle with delicacy the venture in research to discriminate between leather and cloth, sinew and thread, porcupine quills and glass beads and ribbon, stone and iron, in illustrating their processes of ornament and manufacture. Fortunately, equal difficulty does not confront us in dealing with the beliefs and practices of religion, since this is the realm in which man is most conservative; the truth of which statement challenges and astounds us in modern European as well as in modern Indian religions.

A few words of explanation seem to be called for in regard to my plan of arrangement in presenting the material in hand. A general discussion of some fundamental concepts and practices, I feel, is required, preceding the body of the text dictated by Witapano'xwe, though footnote references accompanying the texts will find their connection with the theme. Other notes of an explanatory nature are needed to guide the sense of description through phrases and terms obscure to one not familiar with Delaware culture and the language, and to explain where English idioms have been called into use to

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cover Delaware phrases. In the section giving the Delaware text |21 have been included footnotes explaining and analyzing terms which seem to require elucidation, or which through their idiomatic meanings seem to call for special notation in the eyes of the linguistic student.

In the free translation I have attempted to preserve the order, |28 emphasis, terms of thought and wording characteristic of native speech. It is obvious, however, that the translator can not adhere faithfully in his rendering to native traits of syntax and thought composition in all cases; the result would be in English quite unintelligible.¹ Even to attempt this as much as I have, may seem to some readers, not familiar with thought-processes in other than Indo-European tongues, to create confusion in idea, or at least to present some peculiarly twisted expressions. I may remark, however, that both points of view have been given careful and prolonged consideration before the translations have been released.

The text, as the informant dictated it, in the course of the four months during which we were engaged, seemed to unfold almost in the character of a canon. He showed a very thoughtful manner in arranging its parts and the wording, conveying the impression that certain sections or chapters had a formal sequence, that certain topics belonged inseparably with it, and that other matters which came in for discussion as we proceeded did not belong to it.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE BIG HOUSE CEREMONY.—The ceremony |796 which is the object of our study has borne several proper names in |552 historical literature. The formal designation seems to have been Gamwing, a designation for the ceremony used by several of the earlier writers, and still recognized by the Delawares as being a proper term. Yet no explanation of its meaning, to be relied upon, is forthcoming from any of our sources.² Of equal prominence is the designation Xigwika'on, "Big House," which in the tongue of the Delawares is a favorite term of reference to both the edifice, or temple, in which the ceremony is performed, and the ceremony itself. This designation predominates in our text. The Delawares are not

¹ Compare Zelsberger's remarks on the language (op. cit., p. 143). "They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language."

That the language in the middle of the 17th century, even when only approximately recorded, is still intelligible to the Delawares, appears from the following. In David de Vries Notes (1632) (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 16), it is recorded on the 8th of December, that while moored in the lower Delaware River, the Indians declared they would "make a firm peace which they call *raconitya marenit*." This is the equivalent of *ma'wani-wolungu'ndi-n*, "all agree to make peace."

² The term was no more capable of explanation in Zelsberger's day (1780), it would seem, than it is among the Delawares of today. He says, "This feast is called *'ngammuln*, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give. (op. cit., p. 138).

796 destitute of terms in their own language suitable for denoting religious concepts. We find such formal terms as *pa'tamweo'kan*, an abstract term derived from *pa'tam*-signifying "to pray." This I have translated in the text by variations of its free meaning, as "worship," "religion," "prayer ceremony" to suit the context. Again we find the abstract term *kena'mwin* employed as a synonymous title for the ceremony, for which I have been obliged to give the same rendering in English. And even another which was likewise noted by the missionaries of a century ago, *ka'ntika*, (*kan'tka* "he is dancing"),¹ a composite term with the meaning of persons dancing in a line and pushing something forward, occurs in reference to the great ceremony as well as to other performances of a like nature in Delaware sacred conduct. And again we encounter the term *menda'won*, with the meaning of "House of Earnest Pleading," employed in the text to denote the ceremony. The informant thought that this term might be of Munsee derivation.

779 These terms point to a theosophical system and practice among the
192 Delawares possessing considerable maturity of form and content. Indeed it impresses one, in meeting with the various religious terms employed in reference to the creed and practices of the tribe, that a well-rounded ecclesiastical system exists therein. There is little impoverishment of expression and much order and mature thought in the picturesque symbols developed within the complicated framework of figurative speech.

Such terms as "imploping in earnest," "sadness of mind," "blessed with fortune," "religious commandment," "customary teaching," "religious inspiration," "humility," "reverence," "ritual," appear with full voice of religious thought that we are accustomed to expect in religious forms of a relatively advanced character. They evince a

¹ Terms of similar derivation occur in Algonkian dialects south of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes (*paba'tam*, Wabanaki dialects). Northward the designation is related to forms of Cree-Montagnais *alamie'win*, "prayer" comparable with Delaware *aya'ndamen* "to wish for, implore."

² A term denoting a ceremonial dance, with an interesting history. Chamberlain (Handbook Amer. Inds. Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 202) reviews the term *Cantico*, as employed by the Dutch and English, tracing reference to it to 1664 as designating a death dance, to 1653 (Van der Donck), describing it as singing and dancing of the young. Dankers (1679) as conjuring the devil, Denton (1670) as a festival time. Nelson (Indians of New Jersey, 1804, p. 79) cites Hesselius as calling *Kinticks* a sacrifice or a festive gathering of the New Jersey Indians. The Munsee form of the verb is *pinksoen* (Brinton, Lenape Dict. p. 40) while in Ziebsberger's vocabulary it appears as *genigsoen*, *Cantico*, or dancing matches at festival time in which the spectators beat time with a stick upon the ground and sing (Daniel Denton's Description of New York formerly New Netherland, 1670, quoted by A. B. Skinner, Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 34) while *Kintika*, mentioned by Gov. Prints of New Sweden, as a means of serving Satan among the Delawares (erroneously rendered by Johnson, as "holy man or medicine man," Amandus Johnson, The Swedes in Delaware. N. Y. 1911, p. 379, fn.,) may be the first appearance in European sources of the word as denoting ceremonial dancing. The stem occurs in dialects as far away as the Wabanaki (Malécite, *pink'kmuk*, "dance hard").

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deep religious feeling. And such expressions as "pitifulness," "spiritual yearning," "conviction of unworthiness," "earnestness of mind" are met with to found a still deeper impression of the term-formality in what would constitute a true religious vocabulary. We should also bear in mind that these are the familiar expressions of the professors of paganism, who have carried over their spiritual terminology from the ancient paganism of their ancestors. These terms are not borrowings from the tongues of Delaware converts to Christianity; for the terms adopted by the latter have been refused admission into the Pagan religious glossary.¹ 779 193

There is, indeed, much to attest an almost classical form of diction in the sacred phraseology; clear evidence of the organized position which Delaware holds in the scheme of Algonkian thought and semantics.² While the earlier sources found in the writings of missionaries deal sketchily with the phenomena of Delaware religion it is evident that their authors were incapable of gaining an insight into the spirit of native Delaware worship through two obstacles of considerable importance. First, their religious conviction would be sufficient to prevent them from inquiring sympathetically into the pagan doctrines involved, while the second consideration, namely, the esoterism of the pagan worshippers themselves, would in those days have been a barrier to the admission of outsiders into the Big House. We can catch glimpses however in the descriptions of the missionary authors dealing with what were to their eyes hideous practices of superstition or deviltry, of performances which coincide with some fundamental elements of the greater ceremonies.³ 114

Were it not for the study of Delaware institutions made by Harrington over a period of some years, and published in several papers and

¹ The discrimination between religious denotations used by the pagans and the Christians is illustrated in the term denoting the soul, *lan-apeo'kan* approximately "human substance" among the pagans, *tel'teang* among the Christian Delaware. While the latter term has wide analogies in cognates among practically all the Algonkian-speaking tribes its use has been expunged among the pagan element of the tribe, or at any rate avoided, because of its adoption into the phraseology of the missionaries and converts. [114]

² A striking example of Delaware synthetic verbal construction in dignified discourse is the following which seems worthy of consideration, *ee'li. pl. 'paun-dawonaninga ki-kayo'yamanani'nga e'n-da we't-taxkonotomixti-ti . . .* "for so we have heard the deceased, our ancient deceased people of the past, when they were explaining the many things . . ." (See page 115).

³ Zelisberger op. cit., pp. 127-140; Heckewelder, op. cit., pp. 208-214, 230-244.

The short description of the Annual Ceremony written over the signature of R. C. Adams (Notes on the Delaware Indians. Report on Indians Taxed and Not Taxed. U. S. Census, 1890, p. 299) should also be considered, as well as the volumes by Dr. Brinton, largely secondary sources, which will be referred to by Roman numerals in my study when occasion requires quotation from them.

I. D. G. Brinton. *The Lenape and Their Legends*, Phila. 1885.

II. D. G. Brinton and A. S. Anthony. *A Lenape-English Dictionary*, Historical Society of Pa. 1888.

114 memoirs, our knowledge of the organized religious institutions of the tribe would at the present time be blank. His contributions, accurate and trustworthy, should be consulted in connection with my study.¹

Mr. Harrington who, between 1907 and 1910 made collections of ethnological specimens for the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation), incidentally devoted attention to a wide range of topics in the culture of both the Delaware and the Munsee. Aside from the publications mentioned he has manuscript material which has not yet appeared in print. On the whole our studies, as independent sources, coincide in content upon the points which are dealt with in common. I have, however, deviated from his precedent in several details. His use of the term *Lenapé*, which is the term the Delawares employ in referring to themselves,² I have discarded as a proper name for the people, preferring the term Delaware. Another matter which I have regarded in a different light is Harrington's use of the designation *Unami* for the Delaware proper throughout his publications for reasons of "convenience."³ This name is not generally recognized in the tribe, there being many, including *Witapanoxwe*, who had not heard of it until the question of its bearing had been raised. Upon the occasion of his return to his tribe in 1929, however, he inquired for particulars and learned from some older people of Munsee extraction that the eponym *Unami* was a Munsee term applied to the Delawares before the removal

¹ The titles of Harrington's reports on the tribe, which have come to my notice, are as follows in the order of their importance. In referring to them I shall use the Roman numbers affixed to them.

I. Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape, Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) 1921.

II. A Preliminary Sketch of Lenape Culture. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XV, No. 2, 1913.

III. Vestiges of Material Culture among the Canadian Delawares, *Ibid.* Vol. X, No. 3, 1908.

IV. Some Customs of the Delaware Indians, *Journal of the Museum, Univ. of Pa.*, Vol. 1, No. 3.

² *Lən-a'pe* denotes "common, human, ordinary man," in short "bourgeois." Heckewelder adds the meaning of "pure, unmixed" to the element, and also conceives it to have the sense of "original," in support of which he gives some satisfactory evidence (Heckewelder, pp. 401-2). Its use as a proper tribal name has a long antecedent. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. xii) remembered when the Delawares thought that the whites had given them the name Delaware in derision, though he says, they became reconciled to it on being told that it was the name of a great man, Lord de la War, which had been given to them and their river. As they were fond of being named after distinguished men they were pleased, considering it as a compliment. (cp. also Ziebsberger, p. 145). The same author in discussing the appellation *Lenape*, which he says signifies "original people" from *Lenni Lenape*, adheres to the proper name Delaware in his work. Passing mention seems called for of a far-fetched attempt on the part of Ziebsberger to extort an origin for the name Delaware from a native verb (Ziebsberger p. 114) to which he himself, however, gave little weight. From *lən-a'pe* has developed an interesting abstraction; *lən-a'p-é-ot-an* "Delaware, or human, soul," in the sense of meaning the principles of Delaware cultural life, as does also the synonym *endalausl-é-gw*, "our manner of life," a commonly recognized term.

³ Harrington 3, p. 124.

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of the combined tribes from Kansas about 1867. While the Delawares in Oklahoma are undoubtedly of the Unami division, as it was called by the Munsee, I have decided against the use of an alien term as a name for them. It is worth noting, at this point, as a possible aid to a future student of Delaware ethnography that Zeisberger employed the term "Unami Tribe" to designate that division of the people "which lived nearest to the sea."¹

The Delawares of Colonial times were described as including three affiliated nations; besides the "Unami," just alluded to, the Munsee, and the so-called Unalachtigo. Whereas the Munsee had from the early period continued to exist as a group under their own name, separately from the Delawares both in Canada and the United States, and the "Unami" have been identified with the main body of the Delawares, we are not so fortunate with respect to the fate and identity of the Unalachtigo. While I am not urged to discuss the probability in full, it seems to me that evidence stands in favor of the conclusion that the people called Unalachtigo, whose identity has puzzled most of the writers applying themselves to Delaware ethnographical problems, are none other than the "Naraticons" of southern New Jersey under the guise of a dialectic name.

The Naraticons, to begin with, are given a prominent position as occupying an extensive territory in southern New Jersey. There is, in addition, a village called Naraticonk given a location on the Jersey side of the Delaware River opposite "Fort Cristina" near the mouth of a creek of the same name, now transformed into Raccoon Creek. These locations are given in a map of the region referring to a period about 1655.²

Acrelius (1759) also mentions "Narraticon's or Raccoon's Kihl." Lindström (1656) and DeLaet (1633) mention the same name and place.³ Brinton⁴ produces further evidence on the name and says that the Unalachtigo (properly W'nalachtko for which he offers the meaning, "people who live near the ocean," from wunalawat, "to go towards," and t'kow or t'kōu, "wave"). He believed that this geographical division had its seat on the affluents of the Delaware, near Wilmington. Brinton moreover, refers to Lindstrom and Vander

¹ Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 114.

² Map of N. J. Vlascher, in New York Public Library, reproduced in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware (1630-1707) Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. (1912). For a series of local native place names of this district see also the record of the Court at Upland, Pa., 1670-81, Pub. Hist. Soc. of Pa. 1860, and Peter Lindström (1654-6), *Geographia Americae*, with an account of the Delaware Indians. Ed. by Amandus Johnson, Swedish Colonial Society, Phila., 1925; and Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements in Delaware, 1633-64*, N. Y. 1911.

³ Rev. I. Acrelius' account of Swedish churches in New Sweden. Albert Cook Myers, op. cit. p. 66.

⁴ De Laet (1633) N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2nd, S. I., p. 303 (1843).

⁵ Brinton, I., pp. 36-7.

⁶ Delaware, na'welaet, "to follow."

619 Donek locating the Naraticons as the southernmost tribe in New Jersey
 101 on Raccoon Creek, and adds the supposition that Naraticon, "is simply a translation of the Delaware nachenum,¹ raccoon." Evidence seems sufficiently strong to assign a location in southern New Jersey for a branch of the Delawares called Naraticons. We may, however disregard Brinton's attempt to explain the term, in favor of an attempt based upon this interesting term coming from native sources. The prominence of the name Naraticon on the map referred to and the extent of territory would seem to accord with its position as one of the three tribal constituents of the old Delaware nation. The term itself has interesting possibilities under analysis. In Delaware its correspondent nala't'kang, "up stream where they live," (abbreviation of nalaha'tokang, compare also nahi'tokang, "down stream where they live."

Harrington thought that the "Unala'tko" had lost their identity and merged with the Delawares in Oklahoma, since he was unable to locate survivors there under the name.² Heckewelder³ refers to the Unami and Unalachtigo as the divisions of the Delawares that settled nearest to the sea. This author is responsible for recording the information that created the discussion arising since his time over "totemic affiliations" of the three geographical subdivisions of the Delawares with the Tortoise (Unami) Turkey (Unalachtigo) and Wolf (Munsee).

To the Delawares the Nanticoke are known as Wone't'ko (plural wone't'kowak).⁴ Some families of them migrated westward with the Delawares and kept up a distinctive form of burial as well as their language until about 1875. No information through living sources or printed records discloses testimony to indicate that this tribe performed the Big House ceremony. The informant had, however, heard the older Delawares in Oklahoma discuss the question of Nanticoke participation in the Big House. It is known that the Nanticoke performed in company with them, but it was not thought that the Nanticoke themselves had ever had the full ceremony.

796 Zeisberger has treated the ceremonies of the Delawares of his day
 114 in a section covering some five pages of his book.⁵ It would seem, however, if his narration is an accurate one and if his descriptions of the six or seven separate ceremonies were correctly observed and so separated in the religious practices of the tribe, that composition has taken place since his time. For the independent "feasts" which he describes are recognizable parts of the Big House ceremony and ritual of subsequent times. This nevertheless is an inference which further

¹ Brinton I, op. cit. p. 42.

² Harrington I, pp. 13, 124-5, and II, pp. 206-9.

³ Heckewelder op. cit. pp. 51-3 and 250.

⁴ The meaning of the term in Delaware is obscure.

⁵ Zeisberger, pp. 130-141.

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information may alter. We can not be certain whether his integra-796
tion of the rites was an actual condition holding true for the ceremony 114
of the period, or one resulting from his style of writing down what
he remembered of native customs after some years of retirement from
the Indian country. The procedures followed by the Delawares in
the four or five "feasts" he describes for us are all embraced within
the Big House performance as we know it later. And, rather than dis-
credit the force of living evidence based on the rites as performed by
the Nation now, I would prefer to correct the information recorded
by the observant but unsympathetic missionary. For, indeed, the
ceremony shows itself to have a complex capitalization, its ritual ex-
tending through every form of worship, including individual, family
or "clan rites," that we have mention of in any of the Delaware ac-
counts. The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast
ceremonies held on special occasions by families.¹ The great annual
ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any
assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization. Through
the close resemblance it shows, element by element, with the Munsee
corresponding ceremony, the two tribes were apparently performing
it as a national religious institution before 1700, when they separated
in the east, one division to go westward, the other to Canada. So it
also seemed to Harrington.²

Unfortunately Heckewelder, who knew the Delawares so intimately,
declined in his book to treat the topic of ceremonies, referring the
matter to the previous narratives of Loaskiel, whose knowledge we know
was not gained from intimate contact with the tribe.

Reverting to consideration of the fate of the Big House in the suc-
cession of moves which the Delawares made in their two-century tra- [67]
verse from New Jersey to Oklahoma, we can only trace definite memory
of the "temple" and ceremony to the final period of the tribe's resi-
dence in Kansas from about 1867 on. While in Kansas the Big House
was located some five or six miles east of Lawrence.

The informant gave the following facts concerning the reconstruc-796
tion of the building and the rehabilitation of the ceremony after the 346
tribe had settled down to residence in its present seat in northern Okla-
homa.

"In the Cherokee country the Big House of Little Caney River
was reorganized by men of the Yellow Tree or poplar band. Three
men were pa'man-xgu'xwe, ne'ni'pai, and ehalu'xola'nd, whose names
in order mean "Man Moving Around," "The One Who Stands," "Man

¹ Throughout the year there is a series of local feasts, some esoteric family
ceremonies apart from the communal Big House worship. These are being
studied in text and prepared for presentation in a separate memoir.

² I am drawing this inference of basic unity in fundamentals of the Munsee
and Delaware forms of worship upon the conclusion reached by Harrington,
pp. 196-197), after he had studied the Munsee rite.

796 Who is Carried Around." Their descendants still carry the burden
346 of the worship. They belonged to the "Wolf" group (Tu'k-wi'tt). For this reason the Wolf group claims the right to sponsor these exercises now, and holds the majority rule in the present Big House deliberations. And in my judgment they will always rule hereafter. The present house was built three or four hundred yards to the southwest of the present spot but on account of its inconvenience it was moved to where it now stands, and one acre was set aside by the Dawes Commission. It was remodeled by us after a deliberation in September 1913.

796 "The ceremony has not been "taken in" for four years,' the last one
[735] being led by Frank Wilson (E'ma'). Poverty has driven them to neglect it. And also the loss of the wampum beads which one time numbered about one hundred and twenty-eight Indian yards, all of which has nearly disappeared for it has been sold to other Indian tribes, to white people or to Museums as relics."

796 Speculations upon the origin of the ceremony would be quite out of
171 order from the ethno-historical point of view, but Delaware traditional history has no such hesitant attitude. As the myth develops we observe how the inception of the idea of the ceremony is laid to the revelation made in dreams to chosen leaders among the Munsee. Opinion seems quite general among the Delawares that the original conception of the ceremony is a Munsee one. This is interesting because it locates the ceremony in the northerly group of the three tribes forming the so-called Delaware Nation. It is fortunate that we have, from the pen of Harrington,¹ a treatise on the Munsee form of the Big House ceremony for the purpose of comparison and evaluation as far as the material provided in the several accounts will permit us to go. At present there seems little to point toward proof of priority for the Munsee phase of the worship, except for the quasi-historical estimate of the Delawares themselves. A feeling of respect for the Munsee is general among the Delawares. They are held in high esteem for their former bravery and, strange to say though natural enough in the regard held by Indians for such matters, for their indifference to economic and material affairs and devotion to those of a spiritual nature.²

648 ESOTERISM OF DELAWARE RELIGION.—In the missionary descriptions
771 of 170 years ago, chiefly from the pen of John Heckewelder, we hear constantly of the inner spirit of aversion held toward the whites, and the distrust felt by the natives concerning the motives of all Euro-

¹ This was written in October 1928.

² Harrington I, pp. 127-161.

³ Illustrative of this sentiment several Delaware observations may be recalled in reference to the Munsee. The latter, it would seem, are held in high esteem for their bravery and ability in spiritual matters, yet were noted for an indifference to dress and economic properties, in which respect the Delawares think they stood out in contrast with them.

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peans. The Moravian missionary brothers laid some stress on this situation as it affected their own interests and those of the colonies at large. They saw ample reason for such feelings in the occasion of the atrocities committed upon the Indians by the border whites culminating in the massacre of the defenseless converts at Gnädenhütten by Pennsylvania militia (1782). ⁶⁴⁸ ⁷⁹⁷

Heckewelder, knowing the Delaware through fifteen years residence in their midst (1771-1786), words the following brief expressing his own view of the matter. "Long and dismal are the complaints which the Indians make of European ingratitude and injustice. They love to repeat them, and always do it with the eloquence of nature, aided by an energetic and comprehensive language, which our polished idioms cannot imitate. Often I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings, until I felt ashamed of being a white man."¹

As for the testimony of the Delawares themselves, Heckewelder quotes the speech of a war-chief Pachgantschihilas,² delivered in 1781 to the Moravian converts at Gnädenhütten. After recapitulating the events which had happened before in their relationship with the whites, he concluded, saying, "I admit that there are good white men, but they bear no proportion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest for they rule. They do what they please. They enslave those who are not of their own color, although created by the same Great Spirit who created them. They would make us slaves if they could, but as they cannot do it, they kill us! There is no faith to be placed in their words. They will take him by the hand, and at the same moment destroy him. And so you (addressing himself to the Christian Indians) will also be treated by them before long. Remember! that this day I have warned you to beware of such friends as these. I know the long knives; they are not to be trusted."

Eleven months after this speech was delivered by this prophetic chief, ninety-six of the same Christian Indians, about sixty of them women and children, were murdered at the place where these very words were spoken, by the same men he has alluded to.

There seems to be little need of going further with details of this topic since it is so thoroughly covered in the manuscripts of the earlier writers who had opportunities of observing the transition period of Delaware contact with civilization. In the treatises of two missionaries alone, fifteen pages are devoted to the interracial problem.³

¹ Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 76.

² Paykandjilhilasa, "Person Running with Body and Soul."

³ Zelsberger, p. 121-2; Heckewelder, pp. 71-85; Loskiel, pt. III, chap. 10. See also de Schweinitz, "The Life and Times of David Zelsberger, Phila. (1870).

648 Neither time nor closer association with Europeans has caused this feeling to disappear among the Delawares.¹ We observe the persistence of the same spirit in the sentiments conveyed in the text, the reverence for the mores of the past, the attitude of adoration toward their ancestors who, although ignorant pagans, possessed a mystic wisdom and intelligence which, they are willing to concede, surpassed the endowments and knowledge of the present generation.²

Yet notwithstanding the attitude of the Delawares toward the whites, we must not be misled, by consideration of the antipathy and distrust expressed since colonial times, into regarding the same spirit to have characterized their religious motives. For several authorities besides the narrator of the text coincide in telling us that the ceremonies of placation performed by the tribe are maintained for the benefit of all mankind. The white man is to be blamed for the existence in the mind of the Delaware of the feeling in favor of segregation. Yet the Delaware is willing to extend over his enemies the blessings resulting from his devotions.

771 The informant's own attitude is interesting as expressed in his own words.

[778 "The Big House is regarded by the Delawares as the supreme religion among all forms of worship on the Continent. The center post
532] with the carved faces of the two sides is the foundation, whose topmost

¹ J. Morse (Rep. to the Secretary of War on the Indian Tribes, New Haven, 1822, p. 110) alludes to the Delawares of 1818 as "having a peculiar aversion to white people." Heckewelder still earlier had much to say about the causes of dissension, op. cit., p. 191.

² Note the spirit manifested in a communication from the Delaware Council to the Historical Commission (June 1929) "We are proud to have such a wonderful opportunity, so that our children will take pride in the work of their fathers to preserve our sacred Delaware tradition." While the hold of the old doctrine may be losing its grasp upon the younger generation of Delawares, we have some evidence of a reactionary trend in sentiment towards its rationalization. Not so long ago one of the Christian Delawares, moved by a zealous, evangelistic impulse, arose and advised the conservatives to abandon once and for all the Big House ceremony on the ground that it was part of an age of superstition and ignorance. The opposition accorded this appeal was surprising and unexpected. The individuals behind the move for abandonment were, as it happened, uneducated themselves. Some of the defenders of the old faith, women who possessed good education in government schools, responded by accusing the intruders of incompetency to pass judgment on the merits of the contending creeds, by reason of their own ignorance; in not being able to read the testaments of one, nor grasp the meaning of the other. Religious conservatism is a marked characteristic of the nationalistic element in the Nation. It is even asserted that they regard their migration from the east to have been in part prompted by a desire to preserve their religion. Dr. Michelson, who visited the tribe in 1912, was impressed by their tenacity of creed, (Smithsonian Misc. Collec., vol. 60, No. 30, p. 35) upon which Harrington also makes comments (I, op. cit., p. 200).

[182] In an unpublished note to the original manuscript of Rafinesque's *Walamoet* (1833) now in the Brinton Library of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the author gives a handwritten fragment of Delaware history from 1600. It is a bitter native lament voiced over the decline of the tribe, pronounced by a chief and translated by a John Burns, with mention of the removal from the east to west of the Mississippi and finally to the Osage country.

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end pierces the sky extending to the thrones of the Great Spirit, whose right hand is resting on top of it as a staff to hold a great power given to the red man. All other Indian worship is a branch of this belief. When the rules are faithfully carried out in accordance with the ways of the primitive Delawares, it governs even the religion of our white brothers, perpetuating happiness, health, and prosperity among all nations the world over. In regard to the center post which is said to link the Creator with his chosen people; it is considered a very important feature of the religion. There should be a special authority to explain the significance of the center post in order that its real value in the Indian world be brought out. This being done the other Indian nations would be able to understand this great worship which now only the Delawares know."

A word or two of comment on my own estimate of the character of Delaware religion may not be amiss. If the student of the religious systems of pre-literate peoples feels inclined to disparage the quality of thought and the symbolism of the rituals of other North American forms of worship, I imagine that his objections, on the basis perhaps of their fetishistic traits and their lack of spiritual refinement, would be removed in weighing the qualities of Delaware concepts and acts of reverence toward the powers beyond. Close attention during the two years of study to the intricacies of the Delaware doctrines has impressed me with the conviction that we have here a real religion in a simple form. Inculcated in its followers are virtues (we'lhik) that no one would question as being of an ennobling nature, for instance humility of spirit and conduct,¹ dependence² upon the benevolence of the spirit forces, gratitude³ for the blessings they bestow, supplication⁴ for the continuation of blessings, the exemplariness of "clean" sincere behavior toward man and spirit,⁵ altruism,⁶ consideration of the afflicted and the aged,⁷ the apostrophe against violence and war,⁸ the value of concentrated spiritual unity in worship, the assumed dignity and barbaric grandeur⁹ of the rites, and in particular the endeavor to insure and promote human health and welfare¹⁰ irrespective of tribe or race. All are well worthy it would seem of respectful consideration, to which should be added that the procedures of the paramount

¹ tomak-e-lendamowa'k-an, "pitifulness in attitude."

² liq-e'ndowak-an.

³ owe-lendamowa'k-an, "thankful satisfaction of mind."

⁴ mas-mendowa'k-an, "earnest pleading."

⁵ pi-tsowa'k-an.

⁶ lape'mkwu-l-n "act of making oneself useful."

⁷ wi'mbendowa'k-an, "sympathy."

⁸ wolagwosowa'k-an, "peacefulness."

(aspale'tamowak-an)

⁹ woli'nak-wosowa'k-an, "fine appearance."

¹⁰ kwe'namowa'k-an, "universal blessedness."

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771 ceremony are framed in richly symbolical acts, impressive to the civ-
 114 ilized as well as the uncivilized observer, participated in equally by the
 congregation of worshippers, young and old, great and humble. That
 the Delawares produced a religion in the real, almost classical sense,
 will not, I believe, be strenuously denied even by the proponents of
 other creeds, at least those of the more liberal type of mind. It might
 indeed have become a great one of the mediaeval type had it been
 linked with the destinies of a militant aggressive race, with its native
 humanitarian ideals, its precepts of altruism and humility, its lyrics,
 its litanies and mysticism.

But after all, whatever the civilized reader, no doubt himself an
 adherent to some creed accused of being equally as superstitious if
 not as picturesque, may call these religions, there they stand as they
 evolved—lasting symbols of the strange systems of thought that have
 appeared and almost vanished in the changing pageant of human
 history.

772 THE DELAWARE COSMOS, THE BEAUTIFUL WHITE PATH.—It is rather
 346 difficult to grasp the Delaware scheme of things. The cosmos in terms
 778 of the Big House is a dual symbolism; one realm being that of the
 celestial universe embraced in terms of time and space; the other, the
 tangible realm of the human in the midst of the concrete. The two
 are fused in the symbol of the Big House. The term Big House has to
 the Delaware a symbolical value much deeper than its descriptive
 one, for we discover that the Big House stands for the universe; its
 floor, the earth; its four walls, the four quarters; its vault, the sky
 dome, atop which resides the Creator in his indefinable supremacy. To
 use Delaware expressions, the Big House being the universe, the center
 post is the staff of the Great Spirit with its foot upon the earth, its
 pinnacle reaching to the hand of the Supreme Deity. The floor of
 the Big House is the flatness of the earth upon which sit the three
 grouped divisions of mankind, the human social groupings (Pole²,
 Pukowa'ngo, Tu'k'sit) in their appropriate places; the eastern door
 is the point of sunrise where day begins and at the same time the
 symbol of the beginning of things; the western door the point of
 sunset and symbol of termination; the north and south walls assume
 the meaning of respective horizons; the roof of the temple is the visible
 sky vault. The ground beneath the Big House is the realm of the
 underworld while above the roof lie the extended planes or levels,
 twelve in number, stretched upward to the abode of the "Great Spirit,
 even the Creator" as Delaware form puts it. Here we might speak of
 the carved free images, the revered masi'ngok, the representations
 on the center pole being the visible symbols of the Supreme Power,

¹ Lamha'k.iye "earth here below," so the inhabited world is referred to.
 The Delawares also know this as ketchak.iye, "great earth" meaning the
 main body of the earth.

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those on the upright posts, three on the north wall and three on the south wall, the man-i'tu of these respective zones; those on the eastern and western door posts, those of the east and west. Of the man-i'tu or "spirit-forces," both specific and general, more will be said later.

But the most engrossing allegory of all stands forth in the concept of the White Path,¹ the symbol of the transit of life, which is met with in the oval, hard-trodden dancing path outlined on the floor of the Big House, from the east door passing to the right down the north side past the second fire to the west door and doubling back on the south side of the edifice around the eastern fire to its beginning. This is the path of life down which man wends his way to the western door where all ends.² Its correspondent exists I assume in the Milky Way, where the passage of the soul after death continues in the spirit realm.³ As the dancers in the Big House ceremony wend their stately passage following the course of the White Path they "push something along," meaning existence, with their rhythmic tread.⁴ Not only the passage of life, but the journey of the soul after death is symbolically figured in the ceremony as will be explained in note III in the appendix.

The ceremony symbolizes the transit of the year period. Its twelve nights of performance represent the figure of the twelve moons, its progress from east to west the course of the sun, its varied symbolical rites the events in the passage of life's orbit from beginning to end.

We learn that the White Path is "our Father's, the Great Spirit's road," upon it human life proceeds in its course, which grand movement is symbolized by the dancers as they tread the "White Path" of the "Big House." By another allegory we have the clearing away of impediments from its surface in the intervals between the dances by the efforts of the Attendants who use the wing feathers of "pure" birds, such as the eagle, with which the "Path" is brushed clean. Here

¹ Wee-lap-she-yig. "Good or Beautiful White Path." Also wee-lau'alt motoma'ka, "Righteous Path."

² The Delaware, like his Christian brother, admits that it is hard for feeble man to walk in this path without erring. The concept has deep possibilities for discussion from the point of view of ethics and life as the pagan sees them.

³ The symbolical association between the "White Path" and the Milky Way is not definitely proved by Delaware information. By some strange circumstances it seems, the Delawares can not furnish the native name of the Milky Way. Persistent inquiry among the older men both at Dewey and at Anadarko, Oklahoma, by V. M. Petruccio have failed to procure it, likewise correspondence with Joe Washington and J. A. Parks, prominent members of the Delaware Nation. Therefore the association is my own theoretical assumption, an interpretation of our data, and upon the analogy offered by other Algonkian beliefs in which the Milky Way is generally the "Spirit or Ghost Path" over which the soul of the deceased passes to the realm above. The only Delaware equivalents for Milky Way so far obtained are per-mikic-k'ek "across marked" or "across smoky way," and a notion that it is compared with a cowl of hair, paycauhwigg, "where the hair is parted," which may be discarded as far as their bearing upon the question here as concerned. This important point calls for solution.

⁴ The term ka'nteka implies this figure. (See page 12).

796 is the symbol of the function of these noble birds, helpers of man, who
 778 with their wings sweep the obstacles of disease and witch-craft from
 772 the path which the Delaware treads to his final destiny.¹

[774
 824] Among the many noteworthy poetical concepts of which Delaware
 imagination is capable is also the thought that the trees, themselves
 spirit-forces, are calling forth in prayer to the Creator when the wind
 blowing through their foliage causes a rustling, or sighing as we would
 say.²

As life proceeds on its course under the gaze of the Supreme Power
 through the entire universe, with his minions posted around about in
 their respective quarters, so the Delawares performing in the Big
 House gyrate in their symbolical course in the shadow of the carved
 images. The symbolism of the harmonized progression of the celestial
 and terrestrial plane-realms is consistently carried out in thought in
 every performance and ritual connected with the Big House. Then
 there are the minor symbols of force, "Grandfathers" likewise; the
 guardian of the game animals, represented by the Mask Spirit, the
 masing'holi-kan, the tobacco, the cedar, the wampum, the red paint,
 the feathers, the winds.

796 An essential point to the understanding of the Big House ceremony
 is that it is conducted under the sponsorship of one of the three sub-
 divisions of the tribe.³ And while the obligation as well as the honor
 of conducting the ceremony fall collectively upon the members, there
 is one among them who has personally assumed the religious duty in-
 volved in issuing the invitations, in appointing the officers for the
 different branches of service, and particularly in defraying the numer-
 ous expenses which arise in connection with bringing so many people
 together for a fortnight.⁴ The responsibility of the occasion is volun-
 tarily assumed by the giver, or as he is called in Delaware, tomi-"ke't",
 the Bringer-in." Men imbued with a desire to acquire a spiritual
 blessing through their religious attitude, or to recognize some blessing
 enjoyed, are usually the ones who answer to the inner call of duty.⁵

¹ The significance of using feathers of the nobler birds comes out in Dela-
 ware in the carrying of fans made of eagle and hawk feathers, in the wear-
 ing of feathers in the hair, and in the use of the decorated feather wand
 in the recently introduced Peyote ceremony. The feathers dispel evil influ-
 ences from the umbrage of their wearers, the fans sweep away malevolent
 agencies.

² This passage is contained in the text of a prayer made at the opening
 of spring-time dictated by Witapano'xwe.

³ The three sub-divisions of the Delawares, the so-called Tortoise, Turkey,
 and Wolf groups, have evoked so small amount of discussion (Morgan, Brinton,
 Harrington). They are, however, not yet thoroughly understood. Some
 facts connected with these groupings are dealt with farther along, though
 only so far as they require mention in connection with the Big House.

⁴ The informant estimated the cost of performance to be about \$150.00.

⁵ Since, moreover, there is the conviction that welfare of man at large rests
 upon the performance of the ceremony, that a world catastrophe is warded
 off by it, the attitude of the host is one pervaded with generous altruism.
 (Compare Zeligberger, op. cit., p. 136; and Harrington, I, p. 115).

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It is expected that the announcement be made before the members of the tribal council at one of its meetings prior to the time of notification. In the instance of our text Witapano'xwe decided to recite the ceremony as though it were brought in and sponsored by Chief Elk-Hair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delawares whom Harrington referred to as an active ceremonial leader in 1910.¹ 796

CONCEPT OF THE SOUL.—A distinction observed between the phraseology of the unconverted and the Christian Delawares in referring to the soul, which has already been mentioned, is of some significance in this connection. The former group employs the term lonape-ok'an "human sign, or evidence of existence." The terminal element, -ok'an appears in combinations lex'le'xe'yo'k'an "breath of life, actual life" meaning "my life" (le'xe'yan, "my breathing"), wihiia'ok'an "clan-name emblem." Its obscure abstract meaning, however, seems to lie beyond the scope of any specific English equivalent. The Christian Delawares use the term tei'teang giving the significance in Delaware of an image, an appearance visible but without substance, an incorporeal image or phantom as an image in a mirror. The same term actually designates a mirror in the language. 774

The second term, now of the Christian Delaware religious vernacular, has a wide distribution among eastern Algonkian languages indicating that, while the synonymy noted has taken place in Delaware since the introduction of Christianity, the element tei'teang for soul is an archaic property of the family of tongues.²

We are told that the soul leaves the body twelve days after death, that the life blood ("huk") remains as a spirit on the earth, whence arise ghosts or phantoms. [775]

The heart is the seat of one soul, the blood the seat of another spiritual element. The heart and blood should be kept together after death (for which reason the Delawares do not believe in embalming). The blood of the dead is the element from which the dead reappear to the living on earth in the form of ghosts. It is considered as the cause of paralysis and so was curable through appeal to the dead. We might refer to the funeral rites of the tribe which carry the burial customs over twelve days after death when certain feasting and rites are performed at the home of the deceased. And again these are repeated twelve months later in a yearly ceremonial feast to the dead. At the feast the opposite clan group has an important part to play. 774 764 [769]

¹ Harrington I, pp. 14, 87.

² A more general term for "life," in Delaware, is pema'usowakan, with the sense of "being among the living."

³ Mitschitschank, Munsee (Bristol, Lenape Dictionary, p. 83): djedja'kw, Wabanaki (St. Francis and Penobscot); ata'kw (Montagnais-Naskapi); tea'teung (Mehogan-Pequot); (mi)chschunck, (Natick, where the analogy between soul and mirror is also found (Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, pp. 323, 290, 371); and the same in Narragansett, (Roger Williams, Key to the Indian Language, p. 113); and (mit)tachonq in the Quiripi dialect of western Connecticut.

- 774 Zeisberger over 150 years ago was attracted sufficiently by the interest attached to these terms to devote attention to them in a paragraph which coincides with and corroborates the testimony of today.

"They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *Wtellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *Wtschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in immortality of the soul, some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before." The journey of the soul from the time of death until it reaches the abode of the Great Spirit has been revealed in a vision to Chief Elkhair and will be found in the appendix, note III.

- 776 THE SUPREME DEITY.—The concept of a supreme creative force is a well defined property of Delaware belief, denoted by the term *ke'tan'to'wit*, the close equivalent of which is "Great Power" or "Great Spirit." The same force is denoted as *kic'e'lamu'kaong*, "Creator." Herein lies the concept of the authorship of life and creation, but as to details of the character and appearance of the Supreme Power we have here no more to rely upon than we do in the case of other creeds whose notions of the ultimate divinity are equally vague. The Great Spirit, however, is "Father" to the Delawares, whose supplication in all the endeavors of life are constantly directed to him, whose gratitude is constantly expressed to him in endless variety of thoughts recognizing him as the source from which come the blessings of the universe. A realization of the frailty of human power is deeply imbedded in the mind of the Delawares. Without the guidance of their "Father," life to them would be hopelessly futile. But the minions of the Great Spirit, the "grandfathers," or *man-i'tu* of the universe created by him and the elemental forces of Nature are also remembered in the worship of the Great Spirit. As we observe the carved images of the Great Spirit adorning the center post of the Big House at a greater height than the surrounding images on the side posts, so the Great Spirit resides in his abode above the lesser Gods who inhabit the air, the earth, the water, and the underworld. In the topmost of the twelve "levels of light" (*pi'tao'pane*) he dwells. He holds a staff that reaches downward to the earth and is symbolized in

¹ Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131.

² The consanguinity of man and the spirit-forces is to be discussed further on page 32. The only exception, among the eastern nations, to the habit of regarding the Great Spirit as Father, seems to be that of the Shawnee to whom the personage is *moco'mgon-a* "Our Grandmother."

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the center posts of the Big House, to repeat what has already been⁷⁷⁶ observed. Thus the middle post with the two largest images carved on its opposite sides, east and west, is the emblem of contact between the Great Spirit and man, a symbol of the maintenance of life. Extending, as it is believed, from the earth to the twelfth tier of the heavens, the right hand of the Great Spirit rests upon its top. "It holds steadfast the Delaware religion and it is the base of all other Indian religions."¹ To him in his twelfth heaven, as it were, the worshipers in the Big House "lift their prayer" in unison by raising their voices in the prayer-call, "ho" given twelve times. With the prayer sticks, twelve in number, (six plain and six decorated with burned stripes, fig. 24) thrust in the air toward the top of the center posts where the mask-images stare placidly upon them, the worshipers lift their prayer to him as evidence of their fidelity.

There is, in addition to the synonyms given as denoting the Great Spirit, another interesting appellation recorded in 1670 among the Delawares of New Jersey by the Dutch travelers Dankers and Sluyter.² We are informed that "the first and great beginning of all things was *Kickeron* or *kickerom*, who is the original of all, who has not only once produced or made all things but produces every day." Brinton with his usual easy conviction reveals the "significance of this word," giving it the rendering of "Life, Light, Action or Energy." He adds "It is the abstract conception back of all these." While the term may indeed have had a place among the synonyms designating the ruling deity among the Delaware of the 17th century, it would seem to have either disappeared in later times or to be a distortion of the title *ke'kaye'm'he's*, "governor, elder, or head-officer, president" which our informant affirms is applicable to a man, but not to a spirit.

It is important to note at this point that the term *ki'tei ma'ni'tu*, which has such a widespread use among the Algonkian in general as a designation of the Supreme Power is not employed by the pagan Delawares in referring to their deity. They do, however, comprehend the term as meaning "Real Spirit," (*ki'tei*, "real") not Great Spirit, as it is translated from Ojibwa, Potawatomi and other tongues.³ Yet⁷⁷⁸

¹ The familiar concept of the sky-tree in Iroquois mythology (Hewitt, Parker) exhibits some analogies to this belief. Its frequent representation in the pictography of the Iroquois has been touched upon by Parker (A. C. Parker, *The Tree Symbol in Iroquois Mythology*, *American Anth.* Volume XIV, Number 4, 1912). Similar interpretation seems implied in the ideography of the Delaware *Walam Olum* (Brinton, I, pp. 170-217), and in the symbolical motives of decoration of the tribes of southeastern New England (F. G. Speck *Decorative Art of the Indians of Connecticut*, *Memoir 75*, *Geological Survey of Canada*, 1915); a topic of research now being pursued by Miss Gladys Tantaquildgeon.

² *Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80*, by Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, p. 268. Translation in *Transactions of the Long Island Hist. Soc.*, (Brooklyn 1897). Quoted and discussed by Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends*, Philadelphia 1885, p. 132-3.

³ So far as the Delaware are concerned the suppositions entertained by some ethnologists who have expressed the belief that this form of the name for the Great Spirit is of Christian origin, are borne out.

771 it is still of equal importance to note that *ki'tei-mani'tu* is employed among the Delaware only by the Christian converts. I have previously mentioned the habit of the unconverted group of the tribe to avoid using religious terms adopted by their Christian kinsmen.

Radin¹ has expressed an opinion quite generally entertained among American ethnologists, that amid the varied types of disposition exhibited among savage as well as civilized people, it is those individuals of a religious and aesthetic temperament that the population finds its religious leaders, and that such minds are, in different races and regions, the authors of definitely monotheistic systems of thought. This seems applicable to the Delawares, for it is the visionaries who hold the preeminence of leadership in the ceremonies and who are at the same time the leaders of thought. They constitute, indeed, an eclectic priestly group in the tribe, though in ordinary life they are but laymen.

As we have it, the worship of the Supreme Deity and the lesser deities in Delaware offers a noteworthy correspondence to holy adoration in the Roman Church—to *latry* and *dulia*. Were it not for the fact that the Delawares were never under the ministrations of Roman Catholic evangelists it might seem that the Indians attempted an interpretation of the forms of Catholicism in their own terms, compromising with Christianity by refusing conversion and baptism but assimilating part of the doctrine.

776 In regard to this Zeisberger writes, "They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else."² Heckewelder offers practically the same testimony, while earlier and later authors repeat what we also find in our text, a summary of evidence sufficient to establish the fact for Delaware belief that a Supreme Creative power with indications of anthropopathic qualities, overtops the pantheism.³ Heckewelder says, "It is a part of their religious belief, that there are inferior Mannittos, to whom the great and good Being has given the rule and command over the elements; that being so great, he like their chiefs, must have his attendants to execute his supreme behests:⁴ these subordinate spirits (something in their nature between God and man) see and report what is doing upon earth; they look down particularly upon the Indians, to see whether they are in need of assistance, and are ready at their call to assist and protect them against danger."⁵

¹ Paul Radin, *Monotheism Among Primitive Peoples*, Lond. (1924) (Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture, v. 7).

² Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

³ The entire range of the Delaware religious phenomena, from secondary sources, has been reviewed and discussed sagely by P. W. Schmidt, S.V.D. (*Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Münster, 1929, II Teil, 406-448). Father Schmidt favors the idea of the aboriginal grasp of the Supreme Being concept among the Delawares.

⁴ The term *eka'lame* denotes the proportion of supernatural strength possessed by the *man-l'tuwak*, given them by the Great Spirit.

⁵ Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

And also Heckewelder, "But amidst all these superstitious notions, ⁷⁷⁶ the supreme Mannitto, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth, is the great object of their adoration. On him they rest their hopes, to him they address their prayers and make their solemn sacrifices."

THE SUBORDINATE DEITIES.—The concepts denoted by the term *man-i'tu* seem to have been the cause of some perplexity and discussion among students of Algonkian culture.¹ The difficulty has not been so much with the general connotation of the term but as to how it may be translated. Its variants occur throughout the Algonkian family of languages and its application is likewise much the same. The *man-i'tu* concept is accordingly a general religious philosophical one, the understanding of which is hardly to be gained from any single source. Hence the use of the Delaware form of the term can contribute to, but not afford a final solution to the problem. And the contribution of the Delaware information is worthy of consideration, although providing no new aspects of thought beyond what has been defined in the treatment given it by other writers. In Delaware the pronunciation of the word is *man-i'tu* (plural *man-i'towak*). As to its rendering into English I have come to the decision of using an

¹ Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 213.

² Among the foremost contributors to the discussion on this term has been William Jones. ("The Algonkian Manitou," *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. xviii, 1905, pp. 183-190). Jones proposed a range of limitation to its meaning. "The Algonkian conception of the manitou is bound up with the manifold ideas that flow from an unconscious relation with the outside world. It is embodied in all forms of religious belief and practice, and is intimately associated with customs and usages that bear upon life and its welfare." He concludes, "It has been observed that there is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic, mysterious property which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature; that the conception of the property can be thought of as impersonal, but that it becomes obscure when the property becomes identified with objects in nature; that it manifests itself in various forms; and that its emotional effect awakens a sense of mystery; that there is a lively appreciation of its miraculous efficacy; and that its interpretation is not according to any regular rule, but is based on one's feelings, rather than one's knowledge. Such in very brief statement is the conception of the manitou of three Algonkin peoples,—the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo. It seems probable that the same thing holds true of other Algonkians, like the Ojibwa, Ottawa, Menomini, and others of the central group. It would be interesting to know if the same conception in its general features extends to all other members of the family."

A. F. Chamberlain proposed the definition, "mysterious and unknown potencies and powers of life and of the universe," (*Bull.* 30, *Bur. Amer. Eth.*, Vol. 1, p. 800). Its acceptance into the English dictionary under the definition as "one of the powers or spirits which dominate the forces of nature," seems to bear the mark of Chamberlain's influence.

A. B. Skinner (*Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. xviii, No. cix, 1915, pp. 258-261), employing Menomini and Ojibwa data challenges the definition offered and refers the disputed term to "a God, or Godlike power" (the Supreme Being, or creator and the nature forces), "the supernatural power imparted by one of these gods to a mortal being," and, as an adjective, to "anything mental or immortal, animate or inanimate, which is the seat of supernatural power granted by any one of those beings possessing it." Similar phraseology might be applied to the Delaware conception of *man-i'tu* as we encounter it in both living and literary sources.

776 abbreviated composite term, "Spirit-force" as an equivalent in the translations. Man-i'tu is applied to both supreme and the subordinate deities, the symbols of deities, the elements of nature, animals, trees, herbs, the force that dominates them and which transcends to man as a motive agent, and, we may feel assured, many other manifestations of a sort recognized in the inner linguistic and religious consciousness of the Delawares that are quite beyond their capacity to express in English. My idea of the rendering "Spirit-force" for the term is not to adopt an equivalent that is definitive but rather one that suggests the vagueness of the idea we have of it, and yet emphasizes some of the properties implied in the term. Hence I am willing to concede that it might be advisable simply to carry over the native term itself into the translations and discussion. In the choice of the two courses, however, the more economical and unilingual English designation has seemed preferable. It will be time enough later, I believe, to theorize upon the totality of the natural philosophy of the man-i'tu concept when we obtain further specific information so much needed from Algonkian groups as yet unstudied.

Returning to consideration of the Delaware term, we find in the anonymous manuscript of Moravian authorship edited by Brinton,¹ manitto, "maker, creator, God," with an emendation by Anthony, the Munsee collaborator, "properly spirit, not maker," (maniton to make.)² Harrington³ ascribes the meaning of "invisible beings," to the term in its plural form (manitowuk) some great, others of lesser influence, who control the phenomena of nature, the affairs of mankind, the entire world as we know it, in some of which good predominates, in other evil.

Zeisberger has some discussion of the man-i'tu as a personal guardian spirit revealed to the individual who appeals to its mercy (see p. 52) but he has little to say pertinent to the man-i'tu concept as we are considering it here.

In the present text we are taught, as the followers of the native religion in the Big House, are that the man-i'tu are in most cases "grandfathers" in others "elder brothers," and include the wild animals, trees, sun, moon, stars, thunders and other natural forces with deistic traits. The carved faces in the Big House represent them collectively, except for the larger images on the center post which represent the Supreme man-i'tu, the Creator. All are esteemed in a mental attitude of combined worship and prayer, in Delaware pa⁴taman.

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608 TERMS OF CONSANGUINITY APPLIED TO SPIRITUAL FORCES.—The designation of individual deities of a native pantheon by terms of human

¹ While the verb manito¹wak, "they make" occurs in the text, it is not admitted as sufficient for an equivalent in full.

² Brinton II, p. 74.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 73.

⁴ Harrington I, p. 17.

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Fig. 1—Side posts of Ceremonial House showing carved faces. After Harrington.



Fig. 2—Delaware Tortoise shell rattles carried by reciters and dance leaders in the ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

776 consanguinity is to be noted widely in native American religious systems. The Delawares share this phenomenon. The relationship classification of the various spiritual forces recognized is given in the following grouping.

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muxo'maen-a, "our grandfather."

Eagle, ni'xam, and feathers mi'kwena.

Air, ge'exig

Planets and heavenly bodies as revealed in dreams and visions, moea'pan-o'ke's (lit. "sky-creators")

Thunders, pe't'hak'owe'yok

Trees, hi't'kuk'

Vegetation, pe'mi-alami'ta'aka'

Carved Faces in the Big House, moei'ngok

Turtle-rattles, cur'oni'kanak

Water, "bi'

Fire, to'ndai

Tobacco, k'ca'taj'

ke'xamona, "our grandmother."

Herb medicinea, pi'sun

Corn, xa'akwim

nima'xtasana, "our brother," or xa'sana "our elder brother."

Turtle, ta'xkozk'

Snow, ku'n

Bear, ma'xk'

Animals (ae'wosak) in general considered as existing in clan relationship with humans. The latter are "kings" among animals.

Night sun, moon (male), ni'pai-gi'eux

Day sun (male), gi'ekweni-i gi'eux

Stars, lighting system, portion of the moon; ala'ngok

gah'e'sana, "our mother."

Sea, bodies of water, man-a'pe'k

Running Water, "bi' pe'mi'tan-i'k'

Earth, hak'ig

ke'xana, "our father."

Great Spirit, ke'tan'to-wit'

776 These deistic relatives of the Delawares all have their special functions to pursue under the surveillance of the "Great Spirit even the Creator." The missionary accounts and contemporary information from the living native worshipers coincide nicely in regard to the attributes of the graded spirit-forces. For some of them we have but a few remarks which will be found inserted as footnotes in the English translation of the text, for others, however, concerning which Witapano'xwe had explicit information to offer accumulating more than could well be condensed in such short space, separate treatment seems

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required. These I propose to deal with in the following section as ⁷⁷⁶man'it'u deserving of particular mention, since this seems to represent their standing in the minds of devout Delawares.

Not only is the principle of consanguinity applied to deities and ⁷⁷⁶nature-forces, but to tribes and nations as well. Indeed the applica- ⁸²⁹tion of term of relationship to bodies of extra-biological classification is interesting enough to call for the inclusion of information given as ⁶⁰⁸a commentary on this point by Witapano'xwe. With more detail to be secured it promises a fruitful problem for sociological interpretation. The informant's notes on the quasi-consanguinity of tribes are as follows. The Delawares believe that they are the oldest of the Indians. They call the following tribes "grand children," Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, Chippewa, Menomini, Winnebago. And these, in turn, call the Delawares, Wabanaki, Lenape, or else "Grandfathers,"—but, adds Witapano'xwe, we are all "brothers," i. e. Indians. There are the Nanticoke, Mahikan, Munsee and Iroquois who are called brothers, relative age not specified, in spite of the fact that the Delawares assume to be older than they. There are other tribes which have different relationship with the Delawares, for example the Wyandots, Seneca and Cherokee are called "nephews" (either filial or sororal) and the Mexicans are called "uncles." To white people the general term, meaning "brothers" is applied, while negroes are termed "elder brothers," being considered the strongest of all races.¹

THE CARVED IMAGES.—The concepts involved in the use of carved ⁵³²images in the likeness of the human face represent a phase of religious ⁷⁷⁸thought that has developed some exceptional prominence among the

¹ Zelsberger, (op. cit., p. 106) gives information corresponding to that of our informant, when he says that the "Shawnoes" call the Delaware "grandfather." In regard to the "Mahikanders" we find a contradiction, and so are not able to compare the author's remarks with those in the text. Zelsberger also says that the Wyandots (Wyandots) and the Cherokees call the Delaware "grandfather," which differs from the information brought forward by our informant who considers them to be "nephews" of the Delaware. One infers from Zelsberger that the Delawares called the Twichtwes (Miami), Wawilachtanos (a group of Mahikan), Kikapus, Chipuways, Ottawas, Putewoatamen (Potawatomi) "brothers," differing from our information which states that the above tribes are known as "grandchildren," except when they were termed "brothers," implying that they were Indians similar to the Delawares. Zelsberger gives no kinship term as being applied to the negroes by the Delaware. He says: "These (the negroes) are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood."

Heckewelder, op. cit., notes the Shawnee (p. 86) and the Chipewa (p. 124) as being grandchildren of the Delaware, which is similar to the information given us by Witapano'xwe, but in the case of the Chippewa he differs from Zelsberger. Heckewelder notes (page 122) that the Nanticoke and Mahikan call the Delaware "grandfather" which differs from the information in our text where they are said to be "brothers." Again a difference is observed between Heckewelder and our informant in regard to the Wyandot and Cherokee who are, according to Heckewelder, "grandchildren" of the Delawares, yet, according to our informant are "nephews."

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Fig. 3—View of the Delaware Indian "Big House," Caney Creek, Okla.

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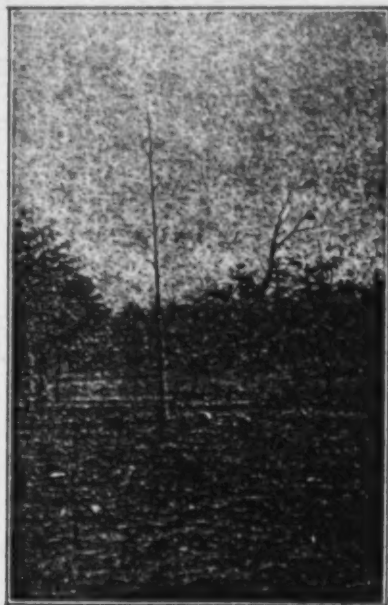


Fig. 4—View of trimmed tree upon which meat is hung at ceremony.

(Photos by Dr. Truman Michelson, Bur. Am. Ethnology, Wash., D. C.)

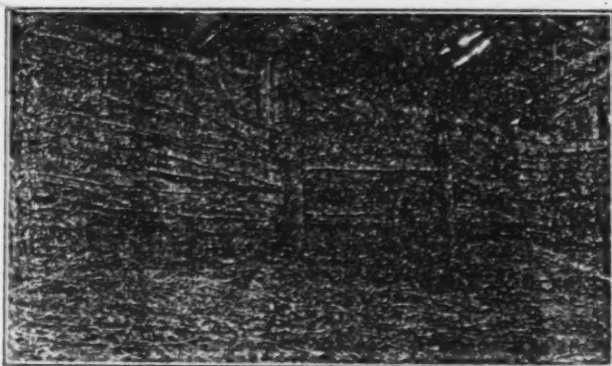
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Fig. 5—View of the center post with carved face above. Looking toward the west door.



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Fig. 6—View inside the Big House, showing support-posts, side logs and three of the false-face images on the side posts. The straw upon which the worshippers sit is also on the ground.

(Photos by Dr. Truman Michelson, Bur. Am. Ethnology, Wash., D. C.)

532Delaware.¹ The term applied to them is *mo'e'ng* (singular) "face."
 778 The concept defined for us in several sources of information, including the living teachers, shows that the carved representations are por-

trayals of the spirit-forces (*mani'towak* (plural)). They are not worshiped as objects. They stand as concrete representations of the spirit-forces as something to look at, to focus attention upon while the mind is centered upon the abstraction. The attitude is comparable to what is intended by the religious term iconolatry. The spirit forces are felt to be present where their likenesses are.

The images themselves when regarded as being separated from the domination of the function they serve are not treated with adoration. Hence when images are being made to replace old ones, in the occasional reconstruction of the Big House, the old images are laid aside, their meaning transferred to the new. Witapano'xwe has himself, on one of the occasions when the Big House was rebuilt some years ago, carved one of the images on the side posts. This duty was assigned to the members of the council, each assuming the responsibility of carving one. His mental attitude is interesting in this connection. He made the post and carved the face on it, the second from the door on the west side of the Big House. He says, very naively, that he copied for his reproduction the one from the old post that he replaced, trying to reproduce as accurately as he could the technique and proportions of the original. He thought it best not to attempt any improvement in sculpture as he did not desire to deviate from established pattern. Some of the other artists, however, in making their reproductions attempted to do their best in sculptural representation. This shows us that the Delawares permit the play of individual motive in religious conduct, a fact which stands out in greater prominence among other Algonkian tribes where the organization of cult is not so strong. In short while there is undoubtedly much to learn from further experience with this sort of religious attitude among the Delawares it may be said that the images are strictly mediums for thought in the worship of the spirit-forces. The images are not the forces themselves. In the words of Witapano'xwe, "You have the figure there in sight but the unseen spirit is back of it."

¹ Mask cults and image rituals of different degrees of importance are known only from certain parts of eastern North America; from the Middle Atlantic States southward (Iroquois, Delaware, Muncie, and Cherokee). The explorers' narratives, however, show the use of carved faces among the Algonkian peoples of Virginia and the Carolinas. The images formed posts standing at the places where ceremonies were performed (De Bry, Harlot). The use of carved masks (gourds) is indicated in the early 18th century for the Catawba by Lawson, while remains of wooden masks occur in an archaeological site in Florida (F. H. Cushing. *Exploration of Ancient Key Dwellers Remains on the Gulf Coast of Florida*. Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc., Phila. vol. 35, 1898, p. 388); and Harrington, (*Cherokee and Earlier Remains on Upper Tennessee River*, Indian Notes and Monographs, Mus. Amer. Ind., N. Y. 1922, p. 112), found a shell mask in Tennessee, in which state and Virginia almost a score are described by G. G. MacCurdy, *xixth Internat. Cong. of Americanists*, Wash. 1915, pp. 82-3, 64-5, 73; and W. H. Holmes *2nd Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn.* 1886-1, pp. 394-7, Pls. LXVII-IX.

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Several technical details in the make-up of the images are important. ⁵³²
One is the carved lines suggestive of wrinkles on the foreheads of the carved faces of the Big House posts. These are indeed wrinkles; the symbols of their age.

The black painting of the left side and the red painting of the right side of the images, as well as of the false face to be mentioned subsequently, and on the carved drum-sticks, has been given some discussion by Harrington¹ and was made the subject of questioning with Witapano'xwe. It is evident that the dual color scheme, black and red, is based upon some very ancient and deeply symbolical native concept common throughout the east, the complete understanding of which has not been retained in Delaware tradition. We meet with the same color arrangement in designs of face painting in various connections among the Iroquois and tribes as remote from affinity with the Delawares as the Creek and Yuchi for instance.

Indications from the several sources available point to a fairly ⁷⁷⁸
uniform assumption that in the case of the Delaware the images or ⁵³²
icons are venerated as the symbols of deity, serving not as an object of worship (as the accepted definition of idolatry implies) but as channels for worship. It would seem that the icons bear an analogy to those functioning in Christian worship. Likenesses of the manitus in human-face form also appear in abnormal growths upon trees, and often in natural formations in ledges of rock. The latter have given rise to varied legends of stone faces familiar in the lore of the countryside. To the Delaware it is taboo to look much at them lest they speak to one, which might be for evil. And he imagines these nature-grown effigies to have the red and black coloration characteristic of the spirit itself.

In dealing next with the masks there seems to exist an attitude somewhat different from that which we find associated with the stationary images just mentioned. The Delawares, in recent times at least, possessed a mask cult. There is, however, so far as the annual ceremony is concerned, the single spiritual force, anthropomorphic in character, whose province in native theurgy lies in the custodianship of the game animals. This being is represented by a carved mask-fetish known as *mae'ng'hohi'kan*, signifying "mask spirit." More will be said of this "master of the game" shortly. The personification of this creature, who is represented in the ceremonial drama by some individual who wears not only the mask but a garb simulating the traditional hairy body-covering of the being, seems to enter into the performance of the Big House as an extraneous feature. Aside from several remarks to follow concerning the masked

¹ Harrington, (pp. 83, 140-141) I. learned that the "length-wise" painting of the sticks, half black and half red, implied that men and women were joined together in Thanksgiving, the black representing the warriors, the red the women.

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Fig. 7—Rattle of turtle-shell used by Masi'ngv. (Length, 16.7 in.). After Harrington.



Fig. 8—Central post of Ceremonial House showing carved face. After Harrington.

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being, taken from the discussions of Zeisberger and Harrington, 1778 will let Witapano'we place forth in his own words the pertinent 532 remarks relative to it which he dictated to me.

THE MASK DANCE.—The False Face, or Mask, performance seems 796 to possess indications of being an archaic mask-ceremony admitted into the annual Big House ritual during some phase of its later development. It bears some analogies suggestive at once of the game-owner concept that is met with among the Algonkian hunter-nomads of the far north, the Montagnais-Naskapi. In particular we note that the mask and bear-hide clothing are kept away from the precincts of the Big House until the time assigned for their appearance by permission of the master-of-ceremony. The Mask dancer does not remain long in the Big House, nor is his action there in any sense an obligation. Occasionally no one volunteers for the dance and then it is omitted. The informant himself had assumed the rôle several times and he seemed to regard it as lacking in theological significance from the point of view of the Big House doctrine. He related in this connection, how the chief function of the Mask dancer was to frighten children before and after his appearance in the Big House. The songs accompanying the Mask-Spirit dance (*mæingka'n-t'ke'*) were not completely known to him. In one of these the words refer to the Mask-Spirit riding on the back of the deer.¹

The Mask-Spirit seems to hold potency of both good and evil influence. There is the narrative of a man (Ben Horse) who had come under the power of the Mask-Spirit to such a degree that he was occasionally subjected to its control and fell to performing the antics of the Mask dancer to the point of dementia. A medicine-doctor called upon to free him from this influence ordered him to make a mask and perform the dance at certain times. This eventually cured him and he became the custodian of his mask and developed into a Mask-dancer. An insight into the function of this rite is also given by the narrative of another, a woman, terrified by the Mask-Spirit requiring similar remedial treatment of the mask. And we also hear of some children once so frightened that they ran several miles from the camp and were overtaken with difficulty by their parents whom they took also to be masked pursuers in their confusion of flight.

The Mask-Spirit as a potentially malicious spirit is clearly totally different in conception from six carved faces, "our grandfathers," appearing on the posts of the Big House.

We are taught in the text that the *mæi'ŋk'holi'kan* is like the 796 other *man-i'tu* deserving of adoration for the blessing he bestows upon 776 hunters in allowing them to kill the deer, over whom he seems to act

¹ Another reflection of the tale known as Caribou-Man among the Naskapi of the north.

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Fig. 9.—Costume worn by impersonator
of Misinghall'kun. After Harrington.

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the part of custodian.¹ Harrington felt that this was the "most remarkable deity of the Lenape," who was "made guardian by the creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and was sometimes seen riding on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lived in a range of rocky mountains. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long black hair like that of a bear."² 796 776

A certain amount of supernatural ability seems to be required of the individual who is to wear properly and display the mask. One who has this spiritual quality to a high degree finds himself able to see as well when wearing the mask, despite the smallness of the eye-openings, as though he were bare-eyed. His spiritual power, we are told, is thus tested; he partakes of the qualities of the prophet, *kacile'su* "great man." Other notes on the wearing of the mask are to be found in the text, page 93.

Before passing on, however, reference should be made to customs concerned with the mask recorded by the authors mentioned above. Zeisberger describes this as follows:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Winkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room."³ 778 [532]

Brainerd had occasion to observe the performance of the Mask-Spirit in 1745, on the upper Susquehanna, and wrote of the appearance of the Mask Dancer with "a coat of bear skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great wooden mask painted, the one half black, the other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry tortoise shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle."⁴ 796 [534]

There seems, however, to be something omitted in recording these facts. A much more intimate connection between the mask itself and 778

¹ A hunter's taboo, founded supposedly upon some ancient principle of altruism, is that the first deer or other animal killed by the hunter be not eaten. The meat is given to some older person. The slayer never gets even a bite. Some phase of this rule is to be noted for every northern Algonkian tribe, though in no case have I as yet been fortunate enough to elicit a religious reason for it among the hunters who follow the practice.

² Harrington, I, p. 32-33.

³ Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 141.

⁴ Brainerd, op. cit., p. 237.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

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Fig. 10—Mask of Oklahoma Lenape.
(Height 14.5 in.). After Harrington.

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the spiritual force represented by it is apparent. The being ⁷⁷⁶ itself seems to be incorporated in the mask image. The latter become more truly a fetish than the carved images representing the deities in the Big House. Its presence is a source of active power, for the most part, directed toward maleficence. This I think is brought out in several records which the informant dictated to me, tracing the ^[753] presence of disease and misfortune to the possession of masks representing the human face, both large and small, in families who had, through some event, come into possession of them. Possession seems not always to have been voluntary and in such cases the owners were obliged through the revelations given them in dreams to perform ^[757] periodic rites, called feasts, to annul their malefic potencies. I am led to believe that this explanation is a valid phenomenon associated with mask likenesses; one omitted from the explanations given us by the authors cited.

We learn in this connection that once a year, generally in the sum- ⁷⁹⁶ mer, the mask image was given a dance and feast of hominy by the ⁷⁷⁸ family in whose custody it remained. The express purpose of this rite was to provide it enjoyment and nourishment as a means of conciliation beyond what was accorded it by being brought out during the performance in the Big House. In such a family the mask must be disposed of in a ceremonial manner should it be desired to discontinue the obligatory rites, or should the family die out. Tradition requires the mask in this case to be buried, as the informant states, lest the effects of neglect of the mask be handed down to relatives. One is reminded, in learning of this reverential attitude toward the masks, of the frequency with which carved stone faces have been exhumed in the territories previously inhabited by the Delaware. The Museums of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York possess a number of specimens of the faces, which have been briefly discussed and illustrated by Harrington.¹

The family in which fell the custody of the False Face was the Pola'eiman "Frenchman," family of the Wolf group. The wife of Frenchman was the person who had hereditary ownership of the mask. Her descendants, the McCartlain family (Turkey group), were next in succession but being inclined toward Christianity the rite was neglected by them. Subsequently Julius Fouts, Petane'hing, "Threw Him Here," of the Tortoise group, took charge of the mask. Being afraid that it might be destroyed by worms while in his possession which might have brought sickness to his family as a consequence, Fouts turned it over to Pe'matae'kamon, "Moving-Flowers Man" (George Bullette) of the Fowl group. By the latter it was sold out of the tribe and finally found its errancy terminated in an exhibition case of the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation). (Fig. 10).

¹ Op. cit., I, pp. 32-43.

776 The mask rite, says Witapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not
778 a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it
passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings
out this act.

[562] Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware
women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as
to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois.
The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the
Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only,
the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would
make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling
that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquer-
ading.

174 To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit
796 is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the
776 customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an
archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and
practices extending across boreal North America through north-
eastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in
high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense de-
velopment appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador
peninsula.¹ For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central
Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of
the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accord-
ingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware
belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the in-
formation pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved
for the later publication should be considered.² Here an account is
recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers
who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The per-
sonification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of
such a mask.

825 THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief
773 is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life,
778 of perseverance, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware pa-
triarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession
of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of move-
ment is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves
the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big
House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey
at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

¹ Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern
peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for
the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now
in course of preparation shall have been published.

² To form another volume of this series.

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earth, the world will come to an end as does the ceremony after the twelfth night. Thus the tortoise "brings the ceremony." His shell in the form of the rattle¹ is carried in the hands of the participants who take the part of leaders in the recitations and dances and move in the proper westward direction in the Big House. The saying is, as the ceremony is opened, and again after the intervals of pause, "The Tortoise is bringing us the worship and we are now ready to touch it again."

The tortoise, moreover, is "he who carries our mother's body"—the latter being a metaphor for the earth. The tortoise being a "grandfather" thus becomes more ancient than the earth. The prominence of this mysterious creature in Delaware religious belief has long been noted by writers dealing with the tribe.²

As early as 1670 the Delawares are recorded as declaring that all things came from the tortoise, that it brought forth the world, that from its back a tree had sprung upon whose branches men had grown, that it had a power and a nature to produce all things such as earth, and the like; that it brought forth what the supreme divinity wished through it to produce.³

¹ As early as 1794 the turtle-shell rattles are mentioned by G. H. Lusk, *History of the Missions of the United Brethren*; and Elsberger, before him, 1779 (op. cit., p. 89).

² The tortoise was regarded in China as a sacred animal imbued with a knowledge of the future. Concerning hunting as well as crop prospects and rainfall the tortoise shell oracle was consulted. (B. Laufer, *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. XXV, p. 253, (1927)). Rather strangely the intervening area between these occurrences does not show forth prominence of the tortoise in religious thought.

³ This cosmological tale, valuable for its early date and more complete form than we expect from the 17th century writers, is given by Dankers and Bluyter, dated Oct. 16, 1660. (*Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80*, p. 208) (Translated in vol. 1), *Transactions of the Long Island Historical Society*, Brooklyn, also *Mem. Long Island Hist. Soc.*, vol. 1, 1875, 1867, quoted by Brinton I, p. 133, and A. B. Skinner, *the Lenape Indians of Staten Island*, Anth. (Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N. Y. vol. III, (1909), p. 53). It seems worth quoting in full:

"18 Oct., 1679. In the morning there came an Indian to our house, a man about 80 years of age, whom our people call Jasper, who lived at Ahakinsack (Hackensack) at Akinom. We asked him where he believed he came from. He answered from his father. "And where did your father come from?" we said, "and your grandfather and great-grandfather, and so to the first of the race?" He was silent for a little while, either as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval, to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail. 'This,' said he, 'is a tortoise lying in the water around it,' and he moved his hand round the figure, continuing, 'this was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off it, and then the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure, and proceeded, 'the earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male. This man was there alone, and would have remained alone but the tree bent over its top and touched the earth and there shot therein another root, from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced."

825 Zeisberger mentions the world-flood myth in which it is related
T73 that some human survivors took refuge on the back of a turtle whose
age was so great that his shell was mossy.¹ And the turtle represents the earth. His rounded back is to the Delaware the earth dome.

825 Another indication of a belief in the latent potency of the magical
T73 powers of this remarkable creature is met with in the esteem paid to
[302] the yellow color-pattern on the upper shell of the animal. Face paint
patterns of a dignity appropriate to the men taking part in the Big
House ceremony are copied from these markings.² The men wearing
these patterns are adopting the symbol of the creature who "carries
our mother's body."

The creature that typifies the earth-bearer, designated as *taxko'xk'* in Delaware, and whose symbol exists in the form of the shell-rattle, is the Box Turtle (*Cistudo Carolina*). This reptile is by the rulings of precise taxonomy not a tortoise but a connecting link between the aquatic turtles, or terrapins, and the terrestrial forms, the true tortoises. For the Box Turtles, of the genus *Cistudo*, deriving their name from the well known structure of the hinged plastron which permits the animal to withdraw the soft parts of its body completely within the protective cover of the shell, have partially webbed feet, which places them nearer to the Turtles than to the Tortoises. Yet to distinguish the reptile of Delaware tradition from the semi-aquatic American turtles, I have adhered to the designation of tortoise in the text and discussion.³

Perhaps certain remarks offered by the informant will, in con-

¹ Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 121. See also E. deSchweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, pp. 218-19. Also Heckewelder, pp. 250, 308.

Later authors have pointed out the prominence of the tortoise as a symbol of the earth, not only in Delaware cosmology (Brinton I, p. 135) but in other Algonkian mythologies of the central and eastern areas as well.

² Considerable variation in the amount of yellow and in the outline of the patterns is observable in the markings of individual specimens of this genus of turtles.

³ Of the five North American species of *Cistudo*, *Cistudo Carolina*, the eastern Box Turtle, the original race of Delaware tradition, and the Painted-Box Turtle (c. *ornata*), of the central region, were and are denoted as the proper forms. Possibly the Three-toed Box Turtle (*C. triunguis*) of the South Central states, may have been utilized by the tribe later in the west. The following are the names and identities of turtles mentioned by the informant:
see-ap'l'p'konat' makoko'xki ta'xko'xk' "spotted back prairie turtle," Box Tortoise (*Cistudo* (sp)).

ci'gger'k'i ta'xko'xk' "timber turtle," (a large yellow tortoise). This can be used for the "coarse" rattle carried by the "second dancer" or follower.
pomba'ti-s, "stinking turtle" (*Aromochelys odorata*, or *Cincosternum Pennsylvanicum*). Of no importance ceremonially.
pi'xalato'iba, "wrinkled breast," Soft-shelled turtle. (*Trionyx spinifer*). These are eaten, but are of no ceremonial importance.

co'xalato'iba "smooth breast," any water terrapin of genus *Chrysemys*. Snapping-turtle (*Chelydra serpentina*). Its shell is used only in the Mask ceremony and in Brush-arbor ceremony. The Delawares are cognizant of the Iroquois' use of the snapping turtle and of their own preference for the Box Tortoise in making rattles for dancing. The term *taxko'xk'* denotes that the animal's shell is "fused together." An obsolete term for turtle is *to'pa*.

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clusion, add something to our idea of another side of the character of this knowing and potent reptile, so important to the religious sense of the Delaware. 825
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"The turtle is in its way an evil thing, yet not so evil as a snake which is controlled by the Evil Spirit and has also human face-paint patterns. The Turtle can hurt human-beings. Once a boy caught a water-turtle and turned him on his back. The Turtle got mad; raised himself on his legs stiffly. The Turtle raised himself, and launched himself through the air and struck the boy on his head and nearly killed him. The Turtle has a weapon in the sharp frontal plates."

FIRE SYMBOLISM.—Among the spirit-forces of Delaware cosmology "Our Grandfather Fire" (ts'n-daj) is held in high esteem. The adoration of fire, however, is not sufficiently exclusive to justify the Delaware being called pyrolatrists. Fire, as a spirit-force subordinate to the Great Spirit, is an agency of purification and invigoration. In the Big House ceremony the rite of kindling new fire with the consecrated fire-drill takes place to the accompaniment of an appropriate prayer on the ninth night from the lips of the Bringer-in, or Master of Ceremonies. The new fire is thus "pure," since it is made with the implements granted by the Great Spirit. The coming of the white man within the horizon of Delaware culture introducing matches into the native economy has undoubtedly served to throw the sanctity of the fire-drill into a higher light. But it would, I believe, be quite erroneous to undervalue the attitude of reverence, both in thought and ritual, which is held toward fire in native culture throughout the east.¹ To the Delaware ceremonialists the making of new, "pure" fire symbolizes "renewing of life, fresh vigor, the breathing of pure air uncontaminated by latent forces of disease, new and pure influences for life and health." It is one of the forces to which tobacco is constantly offered, and is an auxiliary to the use of cedar as incense in the act of purification. 822
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Both Zeisberger and Harrington lay stress on the deification of fire among the Delaware.² In the Big House the two fires maintained throughout the ceremony east and west of the center-post,

¹ Some writers who have dealt with fire-worship among the eastern Indians seem to have gone too far in defining them as outright sun- and fire-worshippers, through exaggeration of the importance of fire ceremonies described in the older accounts. That the Delaware have been more conservative in regard to admitting innovations into their ceremonies is shown by the fact that the Yuchi, in whose annual ceremony the kindling of new fire is an important act, have condescended to use flint and steel (F. G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, Anth. Pub. Univ. of Penna. Mus., vol. I No. 1 (1910), pp. 120-1). On the other hand we know of perpetual fire being maintained in village temples among some of the early peoples of the southeastern area; evidence that must be given full weight in considering the question of pyrolatry in eastern America.

² Zeisberger, op. cit., pp. 138-139, Harrington, (I) passim.

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776 where they burn under the gaze of the carved images of the Great
372 Spirit on the post, represent the actual presence of this mighty spirit-
force.

821 STARS AS SPIRIT-FORCES.—Among the *man'itu* mentioned in the text, the stars are given a prominent place. They too are "grand-fathers" who, we are told, render service in assisting the moon to illuminate the night. It will be noticed that they receive a large share of reverence in the annual ceremony through being mentioned frequently in the adoration addresses. In the quaint phraseology of Witapano'xwe we learn that the Great Dipper of European star-lore is called in Delaware *maxk*, "Bear." The head of the Bear is separate from the body. The legend tells us that the body is trying to catch up with the head, in which event the world will come to an end. Witapano'xwe explained further that the stars of *corona borealis* formed the Bear's head which the animal is ever trying to reach. In Wabanaki star-lore this is the bear's den of hibernation from which the hunters, those three stars forming the so-called tail of the Bear (the handle of the Great Dipper in European belief), have driven the animal. It is said, by the same people, that the Bear is slain in the fall of the year, that its blood reddens the leaves of the trees and its fat when tried-out causes the earth to be covered with a white mantle, the snow. The subsequent portions of the tale seem not to have come forth as yet in Delaware mythology, although Zeisberger relates the outline of a legend of the Bear group in which the Bear is pursued by Indians "with a little dog; the three stars in the form of a triangle represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down."

The Delawares believe that some of the stars are living beings. For example the seven stars, known as *asi'ak'taya'sak*, "bunched-up," bear the identity of clean or holy men, prophets. They are known only to shamans or those who possess supernatural power. The legend says that at one time seven meteors fell from the sky partly burying themselves in the ground. Some shamans soon discovered them and they disappeared. The shamans found them again in the form of seven pine trees. They used to consult with these pine trees. Finally they became transformed into the seven stars.¹

The informant adds: "The Delawares recognize the morning star, the evening star, and a constellation known as beast chasing the bear; At a certain season of the year you will find the leaves of the forest lying on the ground, appearing to be greasy and covered with spots of water. If at this time of year the beast has caught the bear the greasiness of the leaves is believed due to the bear-grease. Another large constellation near that of the bear represents his nest or den."

¹ Op. cit., p. 148.

² See Appendix, Note II.

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The Delawares determine, by the position of the stars, when to ⁸²¹ gather herbs for medicine, for they believe that the position of the ⁸⁰⁵ stars and the moon informs them when the medical properties of the herb may be found in the branches or in the roots. The time to plant crops in the spring was likewise determined by the phases of the moon and the position of the stars. At a certain time when the moon and stars are in the correct relation to each other the Delawares know that the wild animals breed and that fish go up-stream. Persons born under certain changes of the moon are said to be affected by certain ^[753] periodic diseases such as epilepsy and fits. The gathering of material for the making of baskets depends upon the time of year. In order that hides be made into durable leather the animals must be killed at the right time of year. The same is true in regard to killing hogs, for unless the animals are killed in the right quarter of the moon the meat will not keep. Likewise fruit, according to the Delaware must be picked at a certain phase of the moon or else it will rot. Celestial phenomena, the manitu of the skies, rule numerous phases of Delaware life.

THE CONCEPT OF PURITY AND DEFILEMENT.—It is most interesting ⁸² to note a distinct attitude of reverence toward the phenomena of ⁷⁸⁵ nature which are uncontaminated by the mechanistic hand of man. Nature itself is denoted by a term which may be recognized universally as an accepted definition: *te'kane'o'su*, "wild life, creation" in the liberal sense. This refers to creatures and phenomena brought into existence and controlled by the power of the Great Spirit. From nature's category the products of human invention are excluded. Thus it is the realm of pure nature with which the Delaware fundamentalist finds himself in accord. It supplies his needs, it satisfies his emotions, engages spiritual concern, becoming literally the element in which his whole life is framed. To deviate from the processes of nature, in thought and act, is sacrilege to him, to limit himself to its sphere is a sacred obligation passed down to him from his forefathers barring him off from the hazards of change and alteration in his conduct of life, and particularly in the performance of his religious duties. The Delaware fundamentalist is truly a conservative. By the mandates of his own creed he ought to be indeed a reactionary. And similar sentiment seems forthcoming from other Algonkian doctrinaires, hence we may assume it to be an ancient property of the race. Its lament is the necessity to depart from the ancient nature-bound practices, through the measure of force exerted by changes which age and time bring about.¹

¹ This characteristic is often likened by them to the precepts of Christ, to whose example they refer with sympathy, and with the conviction that they are by nature his followers.

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A sharp distinction is drawn between that group of animals considered pure and undefiled in the spiritual sense and the group that has become contaminated through the modification of its diet and behavior brought about by domestication, in brief, wild animals as against the domesticated. The wild creatures are defined as being pure, clean, undefiled, the term used to describe them being *p'ish*. It is these which the Delaware observant may resort to for food, and for materials required in his economic life, and with them he has spiritual associations.¹ The domestic animals belonging to the white man's realm do not fit in his scheme of things, as they have not been fashioned by the Great Spirit to suit the needs of his red people.² It has been difficult indeed for the Delaware doctrinists to adjust the sweeping changes brought about in the economic life of the tribe, in the process of Europeanization, to a creed which pronounces the innovations from an alien world to be defilements. The disappearance of the wild animals, the compulsion of substituting their meat, their materials with those of a pastoral-agricultural civilization have, in the belief of the people, been the cause of their social and physical decline. They consider themselves to be losing vitality in proportion to their departure from old and natural or wilderness ways.³ Accordingly we find the statement made that the deer, the elk, the bison, the antelope, and other wild animals are not only clean and "pure," but that they are *man-i't-u*. This we may note, in brief, is a most positive characteristic of Delaware belief.

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This distinction is supported by evidence well expressed by Zelsberger. "They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer, or other animals, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal has adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans."⁴

for the realm of undefiled Nature the Delaware has a definite abstract term, *te'koneau'u'wakan* literally "wilderness life."

¹ Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 196. In his account we note that the Mohican and Shawnee are very particular in their choice of meat.

² The preordained destiny of the Delawares to live as hunters and that of the whites to farm and domesticate is brought out in matter well presented by Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 187).

³ It may be added that a corresponding idea of clean versus unclean animals is predominant among other Algonkian groups. Correspondence to the Delaware term *p'ish* may be noted with the same significance in Wabanaki, *p'ish*, Algonquin *p'ish*.

⁴ Zelsberger, op. cit., p. 121.

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Not only are wild animals pure in contrast with domestic brutes in 783 the sense embraced by the term, but youths who have completed the 881 puberty vigil and acquired their guardian spirit are also pi'-tsi-t, "clean, uncontaminated, spiritually purified," as opposed to those who have not. For instance one of the signs denoting the transition from pre-adolescence in boys to the "purity of manhood" is in the voice. They say that the youth is expected to remain in solitude during his vigil until his voice has changed completely, by which time he is then pi'-tsi-t. It will be noticed also that the term is applied to fire made by the 572 pump-drill at the Big House ceremony, pi'-tsi-t' ts'-nda', "clean fire," the unadulterated new fire made without matches or other unclean materials; the latter being cowa'nakwi' ts'-nda', "white man's fire," or ma-ta pi'-tak, "not pure." The sacred character of pure fire is shown in its honorific synonym muxo'mson-a, "our grandfather," the source of healing.

Spiritual purity, however, is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but 783 rather (like the Hebrews) through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.¹ Foremost among these are the 541 restrictions placed upon the freedom of women in their catamenial periods, and the carrying out of dietary usages based upon the classification of animals as clean and unclean. Another evidence of the individual being spiritually pure is to have been blessed with a vision 587 bestowed by a supernatural power. Such individuals are pi'-tsi in a high degree. They are indeed the mainstays of the Big House ceremony. They are in blessed communion with the man-i'tu, bringing into the Big House their spiritual media, the controls under which their destinies are moulded. Again to be pi'-tsi is to have gone through all the native teachings. And to live with a guileless character, child-like, is sufficient to entitle a man or woman (irrespective of marriage or celibacy) to be referred to as pi'-tsi-t len'-o "pure, clean, man," or pi'-tsi-t xkwe', "pure, clean, woman," as a child is pi'-tsi-t mi'-maa. The above may serve to outline at least the Delaware concept of personal holiness and unholiness as it is expounded in the text.

BEING BLESSED WITH A VISION. THE PERFORMERS IN THE CEREMONY. 787

The main active parts in the ceremony are performed by those who 796 have been blessed with revelations by spiritual-forces, the man-i'tu. These are the pure men, and also in a minor rôle, the pure women. The word element apg'o^a seems to be the generic designation for the condition of being blessed with a spiritual revelation through a vision. By this is meant the visitation from some man-i'tu coming at some 787 period in the life of the individual who is spiritually deserving from the point of view of his reverence for spiritual forces for his observance of the arbitrary rulings of religious doctrine, and adherence to logically

¹ A taboo is denoted by the term kwul-as'gan, "something forbidden."

787 moral conduct. To have received such a visitation is to be blessed indeed.¹ The age at which the revelation comes to the individual can not be said to have any limits. Some acquire their personal guardian in childhood, some in their youth at the time of the fast-vigil, others in the prime of life. And it seems that, like Witapano'xwe, some may have several such revelations. In such a case the informant thought it customary to recite the first one experienced and to retain it throughout his or her career. In the case of plural visions, nevertheless, the individual could choose the one for recitation that he preferred in his own judgment. The general outline of facts and fancies concerned with the fast-vigil as they are given by Harrington seems to summarize this interesting and prominent feature of American ethnology as far as Delaware information is involved.² Yet a few specific cases not hitherto recorded of the spiritual visitant coming to individuals in distress, without any effort put forth on their part, may be given here to lay more emphasis upon this aspect of the personal-vision doctrine than it has hitherto received.³

We encounter in Delaware practice a system of religious abuse to challenge the pity of some spirit-force in behalf of a child, quite simple in theory. In the hope of evoking the compassion of some man'it'u, the dutiful, conscientious parents, assume the rôle of desiring to drive the child forth from the shelter of home to become a friendless wanderer. The expulsion from home is, however, but a disguise, one to be carried only so far as to deceive some spirit-force into taking the victim under its protection and providing him with a guiding and shielding control for the rest of life. It is deliberately intended to exploit the mercy of the spirit-forces. The child, of course, is not aware of this ruse, so its misery is genuine. But once the visitation has occurred, its joy is equally genuine for it has found a "savior," a "control," superior in power to any human agency; and, of particular significance to him, one exclusively his own, not to be outgrown, nor to become old and decrepit like his parents. The event may be compared with the conversion period in the adolescence of the Christian child. If the conversion, here taking the guise of a spiritual hallucination like that of the Maid of Orleans, is complete, no distracting trials, no timidity of purpose in life, no "forsaken" complex, will disturb the fatalism which becomes a master principle throughout life for the individual. The fervor of belief of those who have had such revelations

¹ Apart from the concept of being blessed, denoted by the stem just given, we find the terms *liggewebel'a:n*, "he acquires a vision revelation;" *lacl'mw'i:n*, "dream vision."

² Harrington, I, pp. 61-77.

³ For ethnological discussion of the significance of variations in the method by which the guardian spirit is acquired in North America, see R. F. Benedict, *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America*, Mem. Amer. Anth. Assn., No. 29, 1923.

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was noteworthy to the early missionaries among the Delawares, who spoke frequently of it. 787

"Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury. As he can receive no further instruction from any one, he must learn from experience how far he can go, his imagination inspiring him to make every effort."

"They believe in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no *Manitto* to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit."

Dr. Benedict has successfully classified the distribution of native theories of vision inducement and of involuntary spirit possession, as falling within areas east and west of the Rocky Mountains respectively. In the personal experiences of the Delawares the theories are combined, though the former, that of inducement, is stressed. "To be pitied by the spirits" is the proper mental attitude of vision inducement characteristic of the Delawares.

There are opportunities for psychological analysis latent in this behavior, but these I shall pass by. To give the native information in

¹ The phenomenon of belief that the individual holds himself as being invulnerable even to bullets is recorded of the early Delawares (Zelsberger, op. cit., p. 127), the same fatalism being known among the Plains Indians.

² Zelsberger, pp. 132-133.

787 different cases as remembered by the informant seems at present more to the point than to attempt rationalistic discussion.

[792] Those who have acquired visions and who perform the act of reciting and leading dances are the spiritual leaders of the tribe. They are known, with an air of distinction, as *wehendji-kane'it*, a designation that I am scarcely capable of literally translating into English, but which is explained to mean, according to *Witapano'xwe*, the act of dancing in a line close to one another in a formation like segments of a vertebra.

In the text we are given the recitation of several of those who had visions, whose sermons, as they might be called, were more distinctly remembered by the narrator from his having heard them on various occasions. Most noteworthy, however, is his own recitation, the time and circumstances of which are given in the translation with such notes as seemed needed. Other versions of spiritual visitations not recorded in text but of sufficient merit to be made available for students of Algonkian psycho-social phenomena have been included in a section of the appendix (note I).

787 In the act of reciting the vision within the Big House the performer
796 (*e'lhika's-it'*) carries the tortoise rattle, called the "leading rattle." At his side dances the "follower," whose function is to repeat the leader's phrases and answer the leader's rattle with a shaking of his own rattle, called the "follower's rattle." This individual bears the formal designation *we'te-gas-it'* "follower."

Now is manifestly the time to bring in some explanation of the manner in which the visionary proceeds to declaim his revelation and to intone the chant which he has composed relative to the appearance of the *man-i'tu* and the effect it produced upon his feelings when it appeared to him. This is essential to the understanding of the ceremony. Reference to the accompanying sketch of the floor plan of the Big House (fig. 12) will be necessary.

The reciter alternately recites his vision and dances. While reciting, now shaking the rattle by a horizontal motion of the forearm, he stands in one place (A) while the dancers who have taken their places in the line behind him pause likewise. At the end of the stanza he bends his head, shakes the rattle vertically and dances down the line of the beaten path, or the White Path with a shuffling step, while the drummers repeat the same stanza that he has just declaimed as accurately as they can. So by alternating pauses and advances the reciter and leader covers the circuit of the dancing path within the Big House until, having led his followers once around, he arrives at a point near where he had begun his act. Here (at G) he leaves the oval course heading toward the center post. At a point about half way to the center (H) he pauses again for one of the stanza recitations then dances to the image facing the western door, recites another

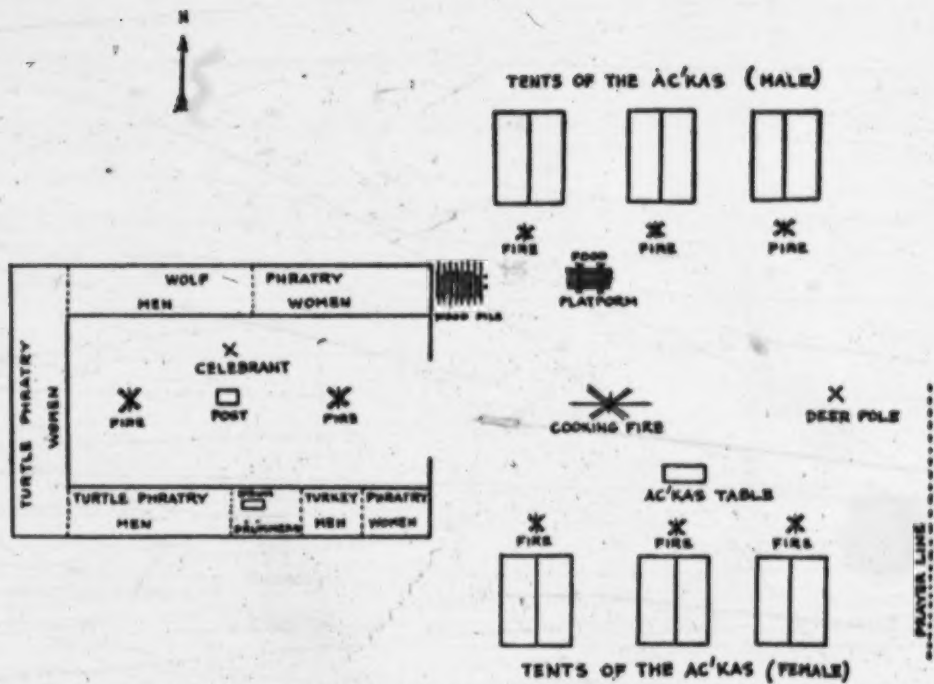


Fig. 11—Plan of Lenape Ceremonial House and Grounds near Dewey, Oklahoma. After Harrington.

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stanza, whereupon they utter the prayer-call and raise their hands to "lift the prayer." Then he leads his dancing file around the post until he stands before the image facing the eastern door where they pray again. Experience and the use of good judgment in spacing the distance to be covered during the dancing intervals teaches the reciter to time his progress and pauses so that all will work out rightly. I have indicated on the diagram (fig. 12) the approximate stations, indicated by letters, at which the pauses would occur in a vision recitation of ordinary length.

It should be remembered that the "follower," or "after-time" man, any one of the group brothers of the reciter, is one who follows close behind the reciter throughout the round of the White Path and rattles alternately with the leader. As many men and women, as desire may join the dancing group and keep behind them.

When reaching the place where the drummers sit, it should be noted that the reciter stops and shakes hands with them, calling them by various kinship terms in a low emotional voice. Those who are in the dance line do the same. At the conclusion of this act of greeting he goes back to D, where he stopped singing, and resumes his dancing while the drummers repeat his chant. As he dances past the drummers he faces them dancing sideways instead of straight forward as ordinarily. This is a gesture of deference in recognition of the importance of the part they play.

Thus the reciter's narrative proceeds, beginning with the prelude, in which are given mention of the circumstances connected with the coming of the spiritual visitor. Some cryptic references are made to the spirit's appearance or to the guise in which it had shown itself; while in the interludes come the chant of adoration, the reciter's song recitative. He becomes a spiritual hero sounding his spiritual triumph, praising the Person, or Being, who revealed himself to him. The reciter becomes so thoroughly familiar with his personal relation through frequent rehearsal night after night, year after year, that it soon becomes a formula in his mind. Its phraseology develops into a litany, its alternating paragraphs of prose and chanting likewise become familiar to the ears and capable of repetition not only by the drummers, whose duty it is to echo his stanzas, but to the audience seated round the temple as well. In this way the performances of the leading personages of the ceremony assume the nature of common psycho-literary property. And we understand forthwith how Witapano'xwe had arrived at a point where several of the recitations had become imbedded in his memory.

Whereas the major performance of the recitation of dance rites in the Big House falls to the lot of the senior reciters there is an opportunity provided, through a spirit of religious co-operation, for the younger men and women, who have had spiritual experiences of a

787 minor sort, to rehearse their parts, and to give and to receive the
796 blessings accrued through enacting their parts. The open period for
minor performers is on the twelfth night at the conclusion of the series
of night rituals. This phase of the ceremony is denoted by the term
a'teho'mw'n which freely rendered means "the-performance-after-let-
ting-the-fires-go-out."

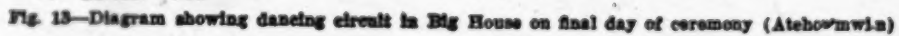
The significance of these concluding rites lies in the understanding
that the religious complex of the great ceremony has passed its climax.
The performances of the men blessed with the visitations of supernat-
ural beings have been done to their satisfaction, the Great Spirit has
been duly regarded and invoked for further consideration of his people.
And now to mark the subsidence of religious tension under which all
have been held for the past twelve nights, the master actors, visionaries
and reciters, retire from their high calling, and the hegemony is given
over to those whose motives are perhaps as estimable but whose per-
formances are still unperfected—the women and the younger men.
The ceremony now takes on the figurative designation a'teho'mq'n, hav-
ing reference to "performing after letting the fires go out." We
have observed that after the ceremony of the twelfth night the two
fires in the Big House, "their grandfathers," were not replenished
with fuel by the attendants and that before closing for the night the
ashes were ceremonially taken out. Henceforth on the last morning the
dancing and singing is of a lower order of sanctity since this "grand-
father," fire, is not a witness to it. The time for the shorter recita-
tions of the inexpert youths and the ceremonially less important women
has thus arrived, in accordance with which attitude we see a change
of mien and the subsidence of the spirit of reverence maintained so
painstakingly heretofore. The occasion is the time for rehearsal by
the youths who have, on account of their age, only a minor part to
play, but who after some years of this sort of thing will make their
initial essay in the regular nightly rounds of recitation. It is thus in
the "dimming of the light of the sacred fires" that they appear in the
modified-service, when the ceremony is no longer "going with full
strength."

796 Besides those men gifted with a vision who recite and lead the
dancers around the White Path, there are other personages called
acka'wak, "attendants" (singular, acka'wa) whose official duties are
recognized as being of a high grade of sanctity in the Big House. Of
these there are three males and three females, the pairs chosen from
each of the three so-called totemic groups respectively (Pole', Pukowa'-
ngo, Tu'k'wat). Their selection rests at the option of the individual
who "brings in the ceremony." During the period of the performance
the Attendants are lodged in six canvas tents ranged in two rows op-

¹ a'te "to burn out," referring to fire, kwunall-i'na a'te neta'n-da! "let
go out the fire."

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796 posits each other in front of the east door of the Big House, the men in the tents of the north row and the women in those of the south. The labors of the Attendants include the duties of the janitor, the gendarmier, and the commissariat. The men's staff of office is a hickory pole with a shaved end, about 8 ft. long, with which they can poke at boisterous children or flay intrusive dogs in the Big House. Their functioning, however, is sacramental to a degree that can hardly be understood by the European who associates such menial and servile tasks only with profane employment. The Attendants at the Big House ceremony are highly honored with their position as workers whose services, as they are observed by the Great Spirit and the lesser deities, are bringing deep blessing not only to themselves but to the whole of mankind. Their pay is ceremonially given in the form of wampum which at the conclusion of the ceremony is redeemed in currency at a value determined now by the rarity of the beads. Of their other duties the sweeping the "White Path" in the Big House after each circuit of the dance, the kindling of the sacred fire with the fire drill, keeping the worshipers from falling asleep, driving dogs away from the premises and other labors, constant but blessed, we shall learn more in the footnotes given with the text.

MATURITY REQUIRED BEFORE RECITING IN THE CEREMONY.—The big House stands out in Delaware thought as the scene of performance destined only for those of mature spiritual strength. The complete exclusion of men under the age of 35 indicates that religious sentiment will hardly permit the appearance of a tyro as a reciter of vision and dance leader on any of the formal nights of the ceremony. This age seems indeed to be the age of "reason." The try-outs of younger men are permitted on the twelfth night during which the women take over the conduct of the ceremony. On this night the younger men who have had visions but whose "nerve" is weak, or whose mastery of his recitation and song is uncertain, make their essays along the line of leading. Their attempts are frequently met with derision it would seem. The informant recalls hearing of one occasion even when a respected elderly man, old Captain Curlyhead, made his first appearance on the White Path and launched his recitation, faltered, missed on the formal words and sequence, and retired shortly amid the derision of the spectators. He never attempted the thing again although his vision was known to be a good one and his social standing was high.

Younger men are cautioned not to undertake the recitation unless they are well enough qualified to carry it out without provoking ridicule or even bringing on censure of the older veterans. For they hold the opinion that it is folly for the young to attempt understanding of the mysteries and rites before the involuntary spiritual-mental awakening arrives during middle-age. When this realization of responsi-

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bility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to ⁷⁹⁶ take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.¹

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due ¹⁸³ to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men. ¹⁸⁴

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propagated in the philosophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois² as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.³

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been ⁸⁰¹ made in several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.⁴ Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

¹ Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats. ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵

² A. C. Parker, *The Code of Handsome Lake*, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

³ For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.³ tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." *Pioneer Priests of North Amer.* N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 169.

⁴ The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (*Anthropology*, N. Y. p. 252, j. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

801 * The Delawares also point out the occurrence of thirteen plates in the
[125] earpace and twelve in the plastron of all the members of the American
tortoises and turtles, bordered by twelve marginal plates on each side.
Another evidence in native thought of the tortoise as being a living
symbol of the Universe.

Again we hear of a medicine compound prepared from twelve different
herbal ingredients employed by the Delawares to cleanse them
• from sin.¹

801 The prominence of the twelve concept as a unit of time in Delaware
796 chronology of ritual is not to be overlooked, for we learn in the
ruling of the funeral ceremony that the first post-mortem rites are
performed twelve days after the day of demise, and that the concluding
ceremony is carried out the twelfth moon after the event.

Of great interest also is the fact that the Delaware finds symbolical
illustration of the concept of the twelve strata of heavens in the occurrence
of twelve tail feathers in the plumage system of the birds. The allegory
is carried out in the Peyote ceremony as performed by the Delawares, in the
particular rite that is called the Young Men's Meeting. On this occasion, twelve
sticks, six on each side, are used in building the fire near the center of the
Peyote lodge, the fire being the symbol of the moon. A mound of earth, with
the arrangement of the sticks referred to, forms the symbolical outline of the
body and tail of the eagle. And when these twelve sticks burn down they leave
twelve stumps again representing the tail feathers of the eagle. The Peyote
rites of different groups vary in many particulars, a comparison of which
would determine whether or not the above is exclusively a Delaware belief
injected into the now widespread Peyote cult.

801 Before leaving the discussion of the number concept, it should be
192 noted that the formal expression denoting twelve in the ceremonial
vernacular is archaic; *ata'x ok ni'ea*, "ata'x, (ten) and two," instead
of "te'l-en, (ten) and two." Delaware tradition informs us that *ata'x*
is an ancient term for ten prescribed by usage in the ceremony while
in common speech *te'l-en* denotes ten. In looking over earlier Delaware
vocabularies we find the use of the common term indicated through the
period of early contact in vocabularies recorded by Campanius (1645),
Thomas (1695), Ziesberger (1750), Whipple (1855), in which the cognates
are *Thaeren*, *Telen*, *Tellen*, *Telen*.² In a Delaware vocabulary
taken down in New Jersey (1792) attributed to Thomas Jeffer-

¹ Ziesberger, op. cit., p. 134.

² Brinton I, p. 96. Comparative vocabularies from these sources are quoted.

In a Swedish source, attributed to Campanius (Lutheri Catechismus *Öfversatt på American-Virginiskt Språk*, Stockholm, (1696), the form *thaeren* is given for "ten." Swedish, like Delaware, has in its recent development, under a change producing an *i* from the earlier *e* which in both instances may have had an *i* quality (Dr. A. J. Uppvall). See also Amandus Johnson, *Geographia Americana*, op. cit., 289.

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son, the same form (*tillewa*) occurs.¹ The same term for the decimal 801 occurs in cognate form throughout practically all the northern and 192 eastern Algonkian tongues.² Is it reasonable then to consider the form *atax* as an Algonkian numeral so ancient as to antedate the dispersion of the Algonkian languages?

WAMPUM AS A SYMBOL.—In Delaware ceremonial, social and even 436 economic procedure, wampum played an outstanding part. It is referred to in the text as "our heart." The subject, however, calls for more extended treatment than will be given it here. Wampum is designated by the term *ke'kw*, a vocable which is peculiar to Delaware and which does not submit to philological analysis. Despite the uniformity of beliefs and practices involving the use of wampum beads throughout the eastern and central portions of the Algonkian area of distribution, the Delawares seem to have aberrated from employing the generic term *waba'bi* that we find in the speech of the other Wabanaki populations. The economic and symbolic functions of the peculiarly portentous medium of exchange I have dealt with in separate publication, to which I shall refer, as far as it deals with the Algonkian peoples of the northeast.⁴ And the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the affects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property. I might even use the terms spiritual antiseptic in referring to the agency of the sacred beads in transactions of a personal nature as well as in negotiations between political bodies. Going a step further we see how the Indians regarded the belts and strings of wampum which were transferred between parties entering into negotiations as the necessary pledges of sincerity of spirit and purity of purpose.⁵

In the account of the annual ceremony a glance at the procedures 436 shows how step by step wampum is brought into use as a medium of 796 compensation carrying a spiritual valuation. But its monetary exchange value in Delaware culture is extremely low, hence the statements of the Indians themselves concerning its non-intrinsic rating are more clearly understood. The attendants we observe, whose office is to prepare the Big House, attend to materials such as food, fire,

¹ Manuscript in Archives of the American Philosophical Society of Phila., Indian Vocabularies p. 17.

² The wide diffusion of the cognates of *telen* is shown in the following instances, Wabanaki, *mada'la*, Montagnais-Naskapi, *kote'lan*.

³ Literally "white string," the source of English "wampum."

⁴ F. G. Speck, "The Functions of Wampum among the Northeastern Algonkian," *Mem. Amer. Anth. Ass.*, vol. vi, No. 1, (1919).

⁵ F. G. Speck, "The Penn Wampum Belts" Leaflet No. 2, *Mus. Amer. Ind.*, (Heye Foundation), New York (1925).

436 sweeping, and general order of the premises receive their pay in
796 wampum beads; the pecuniary value of which amounts to hardly more than a few cents. The drummers, the singers, the dance leaders, the reciters of visions are in their turn rewarded with small donations of wampum at the conclusion of their performances. This is a purifying gift rather than a pecuniary payment, one entirely out of proportion to the worth of service rendered.

[43] The worshippers of the Big House also offer their donations toward the ceremony in strings of wampum, giving them to the Master-of-Ceremonies, saying; *ce-la-yu'ni ndeli' witeinge'n note'ha'n* "This here is how much I help from my heart!" The sacrosanctity of wampum is furthermore emphasized by the religious rule that wampum should always be given when something has been received, even when only a gift from a friend. In the esteem of the natives it becomes a most potent medicine. Failure to carry out the rules governing the bestowing of wampum would bring sickness upon the receiver of property through exchange or the receiver of a gift. This is especially true in connection with the Delaware practice of medicine, because medicine although destined to heal can double upon itself and become a poison when not sanctified by the conveyance of wampum.¹

436 In Delaware phraseology "wampum is our heart." In exchanges of
425 vendable property, even extending to gifts between friends, there
751 lurked a potency for evil that might develop in who knows what quarter, producing malice or resentment among the parties concerned. It could even result in bodily poison to one or both. It is strictly correct to state that in the attitude of the eastern Indians toward such affairs the transfer of shell money from the hands of the receiver of a gift or a purchase to those of the giver performed the function of medicine.

436 The wampum protected them against spiritual infection and its
755 manifestation in the body in the form of sickness. Wampum was a purifier, purging the transaction from latent evil force. And should evil have leaked through the transaction the wampum would function as a purgative for its keeper. The same wampum was a spiritual emblem believed by them to have come originally from supernatural sources and embodying within it profound supernatural dynamism.

436 We can understand why a compact sealed with the transfer of
439 wampum was as sacred as one sworn to under oath by Europeans. It was such an attitude toward exchange and currency that our colonial forebears encountered when they bartered for land and peltry with the aborigines of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The colonists handed out their exchange with the European notion of in-

¹ I am of course speaking of Delaware therapeutics exclusively, although something along the same line may be said, by those who are inclined toward a critical attitude, of civilized medical practices.

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trinsic value, receiving the return with the native idea of spiritual and supernatural interplay. 436
439

The Dutch in buying Manhattan for 60 guilders worth of trinkets undoubtedly drove a shrewd bargain with the Delaware. But who has told us that in the eyes of these same Delaware the currency was the symbol not the value equivalent of the relinquishment of their hereditary rights to the land as well as its products? This ridiculous price was to them a symbol over which they transferred their goodwill and spiritual power over forces dormant in the land, clearing away the poison that might have been engendered by the inequality of value in the transfer. Here lay the basis of conflict unreconcilable between the two culture spheres that met, bartered, and quarreled, in the settlement of the Atlantic seaboard. The one backed by unnumbered, metal-armed, aggressive and adventurous men from a tumultuous old world as against a few thousand stone-age, passive, hunter-farmers.

There are deep associative meanings here underlying Algonkian and Iroquois wampum institutions. The problems of their origin, development and inter-relation are to be considered as a research problem of the future.

CEREMONIAL EQUIPMENT.—The material equipment of the Big House ceremony is mentioned with some detail in that part of the text which deals with preparation. The objects whose use is called for in various stages of the rite have a particular sacredness in the eyes of the Delaware. Between the occasions when the ceremony is performed they are carefully kept in the charge of some responsible chiefs or members of the council. Some of the objects required in the performance have been attached to it for lengthy periods of time. It has even been thought that they might have been brought from the east during the course of migration. This attitude of reverence, however, has not prevented the escape of specimens, representing practically all of the objects whose use is prescribed in the performance, from the hands of their custodians to find their way into the collections of eastern museums, even into the possession of private collectors.¹ In some cases faithful reproductions of the cherished articles have been made by the Indians to serve the purposes of demonstration. Therefore, utilizing the materials in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City, and the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, who have generally pro-

¹ The temptation to professional curio-hunters to sweep Indian reservations clean of native manufactures results in turning topsy-turvy their cultural life. It even comes from experts whose desire for the possession of rare specimens is sometimes greater than their desire for the advancement of knowledge. The existence of such bitter and senseless rivalries among collectors is responsible for the demolition of creeds and ceremonies now too far gone to study or to understand.

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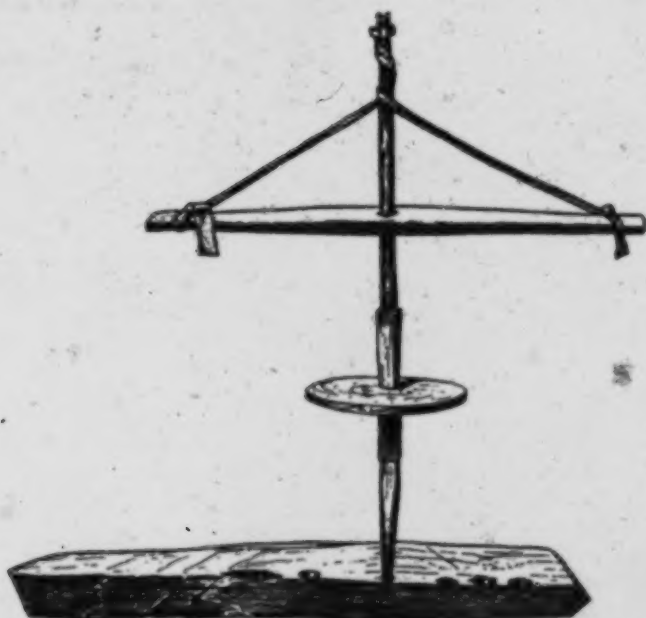


Fig. 14—Ceremonial fire drill used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length of shaft, 29.5 in.). After Harrington.

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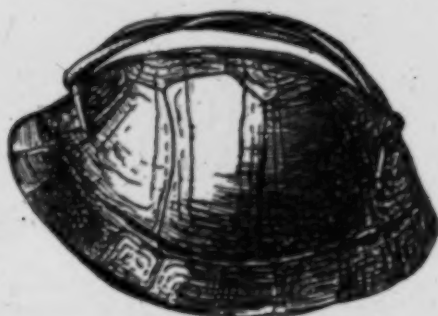


Fig. 15—Rattle of land-tortoise shell, used by celebrants of the Big House Ceremony. (Length 4.3 in.). After Harrington.

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

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vided illustration and granted access to the specimens for description, ⁷⁷⁸
 the accompanying plates and figures are made possible for our study. ⁷⁹⁶
 Other reproductions are from specimens being acquired in the Delaware collections in the State Museum at Harrisburg.¹

The articles constituting the material equipment of the ceremony require some comment since reference is so frequently made to them in the text, although their proper description would fall under treatment in a study of Delaware material culture. Witapano'xwe has, moreover, given us some additions to knowledge regarding these objects which I shall refer to briefly now, while reserving some explanatory remarks pertaining to them for the footnotes accompanying the translation.

The shell rattles (*taxko'xk'*) (figs. 2, 15) with which the men who ⁵³⁴
 recite their visions accompany themselves by sidewise motion of the ⁷⁷⁸
 arm are constructed of the dried shell of the box tortoise (*Cistudo*). ⁷⁹⁶
 A leather thong is fastened through holes in the top shell, beneath which the fingers pass so that the curve of the shell fits the palm of the hand. Both the dance leader who is reciting his vision and the man close by his side, who chants the responses to the song of the leader, carry the handrattles. The leader's rattle is, by traditional ruling, smaller than that of his associate.

The peculiar Delaware hide-drum (*poxen-i'kan*), (fig. 19), which was also known to the Munsee, has called forth some attention from Harrington. This instrument of percussion is simply a dried deer-skin folded and bound with cordage that fastens two long wooden slats to opposite sides, its length is thirty-two inches. The beaters are more interesting as ceremonial objects. During the nights of the annual performance up till the ninth, the drum batons (*paykandi'kan*) are plain bars of oak 16 inches in length with no other mark on them than a figure X carved on the upper side. The figure is said to symbolize the crossroads on the pathway of the soul (see page 174 and figs. 17, 22, 26). On the ninth night, however, the plain drum-beaters are put aside and their place is taken in the subsequent acts of the ceremony by the sacred beaters (*paykandi'kan laxa'usitci'k* "forked-ones").¹ This substitution is an allegory of the increasing sanctity of the rites as they progress from the beginning, until reaching the ninth night the worship has approached so near the seat of the Great Spirit in his twelfth tier of heaven that the ceremony assumes a more formal phase, and appears with its equipment in ceremonial full-dress. The sacred batons (fig. 22, a, b) bear on their upper sides carvings of the human face in high relief with the symbolical red and black paint on the right

¹ Mention should be given to the illustrations of most of these objects in Harrington's study of Lenape religion and ceremonies.

² These sacramental objects are kept in the custody of the chiefs of the Tu'kwai-t (Wolf) group.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

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Fig. 18—Delaware hawk-tail hand fan carried by man. Used now generally in Peyote Ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)



Fig. 17—Delaware Drum-beaters marked with cross used before ninth night of Ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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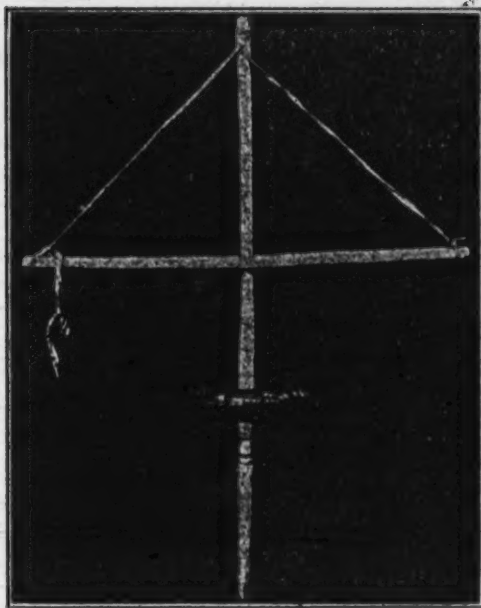


Fig. 16—Delaware Fire-drill (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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and left halves, respectively. The one also has carved representations of the female breasts. Harrington secured information explaining that these drum-beaters symbolized the male and female worshipers, but we cannot be so certain of this in view of the possibility that they may be representations of male and female deities, the "grandfathers" and "grandmothers" of the Delawares. The sacred drumsticks are also cut to have forked ends as the illustrations show. For this morphological feature Witapano'xwe knew of no positive explanation unless it represents the forks in the pathway of the soul. Harrington suggested that it was to make a louder sound. Specimens made by the informant are shown in fig. 20. Pin oak was the wood used. The faces are designed to bring out male and female lineaments.

Reverting for a moment to a consideration of the drum it is worth noting that the Delawares use neither the hollow log-drum nor the water-drum in the Big House ceremony although both are known in connection with other dance performances in the tribe.

The prayer sticks (ma'mendahi'kana', plural) "means of earnest supplication" (fig. 24) are peeled wands about 18 inches long, twelve in number, six decorated with spirals encircling them burnt on their surface, six undecorated. On the ninth night likewise these wands are introduced into the prayer feature of the ceremony. The worshipers, who up until this night have simply raised their hands when giving voice to the prayer call when grouped around the center post, now raise their hands pointing toward the images of the great spirit on this post with the prayer wands. Here again we learn that the extra reach afforded by the sticks is symbolical of the greater height in the heaven-strata that has been reached in the progress of the worship.

The fire drill sang'hi'kan),¹ figs. 14, 16, the wooden corn mortar (koho'kan) and pestle, or "long pounder" (kwen-u'son-e'k'), fig. 23, the paint, ola'man)² the "paint dishes" (ola'manolo'ke'), fig. 21, the feathers, (fig. 18), and other articles whose use is called for as the ceremony advances, are to be mentioned with explanatory observations in the footnotes accompanying the translation. These objects have a positive sanctified value as they function in the ceremony. The Delawares hold them in high esteem as symbols of the natural culture with which they were endowed by the Great Spirit before the coming of Europeans with their sacrilegious mechanisms, which latter are as far as possible held as taboo within the Big House itself and even on the premises. The same exclusive principle is carried out in respect to European foods. Even mussel shells are used as spoons.

A partly sanctified character is also ascribed to certain games which are permitted during the course of the ceremony. While the mem-

¹ sa'ggwa, "something that makes a ringing noise," denoting the sound of the fire-drill when in use.

² A generic term for "red paint" known everywhere among northern and eastern Algonkians with little variation.

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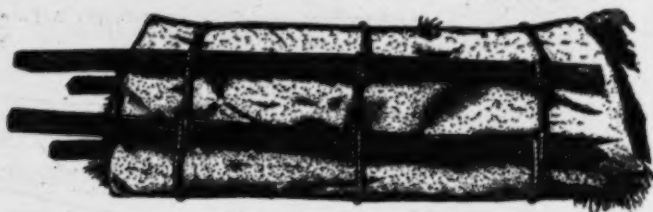


Fig. 19—Drum made of dried deer skin used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 38.2). After Harrington.



Fig. 20—Delaware drum beaters used on ninth night of ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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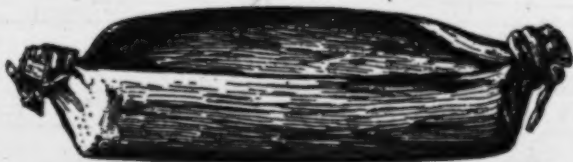


Fig. 21—Paint-dish of bark, used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 2.2 in.). After Harrington.

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bers of the group are convened for the Big House ceremony the day ⁷¹⁶ intervals between the nightly performances are passed in taking rest ³² and in pastimes of a native character. The Delawares have various games (li-nale'tin) of a non-formal nature. Among these are horse racing (h'wta'me'laxtan, "trying out horses"), and the dice and bowl game (ma'ma'ndin, "gathering [dice]") consisting of five dice, cut out of mussel shell carved into forms of button, horsehead, tortoise, tossed in a wooden bowl, the counters being kernels of corn or coffee beans. Other amusements, some obviously of European origin, are ^[77] checkers, pitching quoits, cards, broad-jumping and jack-straws, it might be added that the Delawares are addicted to the well known moccasin-game but reserve it for the funeral ceremony.¹

CEREMONIAL IMAGE AND FACE-PAINTING.—The application of pig-⁷¹⁶ ment to the face has, in Delaware thought, the value of an anoint-³⁰² ment. The sanctity of the act of face-painting in connection with the performance is displayed in the formality of the rite on the ninth night in which the carved images in the Big House, the face images on the forked drum-sticks, and the faces of the worshipers themselves are given an application of red color. The images, however, receive an application of black and red on each half of the face, while the people receive a rubbing of red only on the cheeks and forehead. The proper native source of red for face painting, which the Delawares believe to have been created for their use by the Great Spirit, is Blood-root (*Sanguinaria canadensis*). Of this we hear occasionally in the text. In the accounts dealing with Indian customs in the east, Blood-root under the name pukoon is mentioned as an article of much importance. The term pukoon became adopted into English and the root became a color substance sought for in the commerce of the colonies. The Delawares still preserve a feeling of its importance and, although considered rare in the present habitat of the tribe in Okla-^[326] homa, it is locally present in quantities sufficient to supply an orange-red stain for them in their ceremonies. They call it pe'kon.²

Black painting is also important in significance. Black (saka'xtai, ^[322] "black charcoal") is a means of summoning ghosts and so it is worn only when such associations are desired.³

In an account of early Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Gabriel Thomas (1698)⁴ tells us that the Delawares upon decease made their ^[764] faces black all over, and when their affairs went well they painted ^[322]

¹ To be dealt with in a later memoir of this series.

² The identity of the above term with *Sanguinaria* was ascertained during a trip with the informant in the Pennsylvania woods where the plant was found and named.

³ The informant remembers when a child being told by his mother to go wash the black paint from his face before night came on, after he had been playing dancing, lest it attract a ghost.

⁴ Gabriel Thomas' Account, etc., in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware*, N. Y. (1912), edited by Albert Cook Myers, p. 341.

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their faces with red, "it being the token of their joy as the other is of their grief."

The dichromatic pattern, black and red, seems to stand out with prominence in the painting of the human face and its carved representations in the whole eastern portion of North America from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. An explanation, often sought for by direct inquiry among the Indians, and again based upon hypothesis, has never seemed forthcoming. In the preceding remarks on the use of black among the Delawares, and again through implied reasoning, I would venture to suggest, lies a plausible explanation of the pattern of red and black. The red symbolizes living beings, the black dead, both idea and symbol having a deep grounding in the religious philosophy of the eastern part of the continent.

To illustrate some of the color patterns affected by the Delawares during the Big House ceremony, the narrator of the text made the accompanying color sketches (figure). The patterning permissible in the ceremony is normally restricted to black and red put on in larger masses rather than in fine lines. The mass designs are thought to be sombre, dignified; in short, full-dress in character, and, a note of no little significance, more ancient.

The smaller, fine-line designs placed on the cheeks or in the narrow area between the outer corner of the eye and the temple are regarded as being more modern, secular in character. These are considered too profane for the purpose of worship, and to wear them during the Big House ceremony would be out of keeping with the gravity of the occasion. The fine-line designs are regarded as being suitable for dress-up events of a social nature and for social dances. They belong also to the garb of warriors, like the wearing of the roach head-ornament and the feather bonnet. A series of examples of the fine line of warriors' face patterns for cheeks and temples are shown in figures , as observed and remembered by the informant. An analogy exists between the patterns adopted by warriors and the markings on the face of the rattlesnake and even the turtles. In both cases the patterns are thought ominous, which seems to account for their exclusion from the ceremonial category of designs. Painting on the face representing markings on turtles' or rattlesnakes' faces are called *aca'co* which means "alitting or cutting in the skin," in Delaware.¹

796 THE SWEATING RITE.—At an earlier period of Delaware history, it
783 is said in the text, before the evacuation of the tribal haunts in Kansas (1867) the performance of a sweating ceremony seems to have been included in the annual ceremony. Harrington has notes on this procedure for which he received the name *muxhatoL'zing* from his

¹In Montagnais-Naskapi, *aca'jo* denotes tattooing.

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Fig. 22—Plain and Sacred (a and b) drumsticks used at the Big House ceremony in Oklahoma (Length, 18.6 in.). After Harrington.

796 informants. He chooses to regard this rite as another form of the
783 annual ceremony, and supposes this to have been a tribal variation arising through the incorporation of alien features at the instigation of Munsee or Nanticoke adopted by the Delawares.¹ Zeisberger has an account referring to a sweating ceremony of a similar nature to that described by Harrington. The designation applied to it by Zeisberger is "machutzin", which he rendered "to perspire."

Witapano'we secured the following description of the sweating-ceremony from aged living Indians in the Nation on the occasion of his visit home in 1929, and I give it as a supplement to what has already been published by others concerning it;

[147] "The sweat-house performance does not belong to the regular annual ceremony of the Big House although it was formerly held in the Big House. It was a distinct ceremony lasting eight days held by the tribe when it was living in Kansas, before they moved to their present location in Oklahoma in 1867. When this ceremony was first held it was meant to determine who could withstand the greatest punishment by heat and steam. A large wigwam made of twelve poles bent together at the top and covered with hides. Opposite the door a number of pieces of wood and bark are arranged so that the wigwam will not catch fire. During the eight days of the ceremony hot rocks are placed in the wigwam and twelve men, each having had a vision so receiving supernatural power, are selected from the tribe to enter the wigwam where they sing their songs. Many of the men
756 in the trial become weak and succumb to the heat while others withstand the punishment until the last man has finished his song. These men are always considered as being medicine men or healers. The ceremony is held just before sun set.

"The Lenape or Delawares are looked upon as the doctors and an older tribe, in fact as the "grandfathers" of all other tribes. The Indian doctors are known as *ma-ta-en-no* (*met-e'-nu*) meaning a man who possesses supernatural healing power. Some times these men are warriors as well as healers."

¹ Harrington I, pp. 122-3.

² Zeisberger, p. 138-9. This verb denoting dancing of ceremonial character appears as *machtoza*, probably the Munsee form (Briston, p. 69) meaning "to perspire" being a symbolical dance held in honor of the "grandfather," fire. The number twelve appeared as an allegory in the dance. *maxta'ken* (*machtozen*, Briston, Lenape Dict., p. 69) "to fight" is probably the Munsee related form, while *Mohegan-Pequot*, *maxta'ga* "dance" evidently rounds out the evidence that it denoted among the early eastern Algonkian a superior dance performance associated with fire, struggle, and purification by sweating, and war preparation.

The term *machutzin* given by Zeisberger seems to be a shortened equivalent, *maxtu'sigga*, of the expression *maxk'xatw'sigga*, "staying until one is sweated red." Both terms are intelligible to the speakers of the Delaware language today. Lindström (1854-6) describes the sweat-bath in familiar terms (A. Johnson, *Geographia Americana*, 1925, p. 257).

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THE SOCIAL GROUPS IN THE CEREMONY.—In the text frequent reference is made to the three group-subdivisions of the tribe. Inasmuch as no satisfactory conclusions have yet been reached in the classification of the subdivisions of Delaware social organization, I have been obliged to refer to the groupings under captions serviceable for present needs in our discussion of the Big House ceremony. My use of classifying terms for the groups is accordingly not to be considered as definitive. The social grouping that stands out with great prominence in the ceremonial organization of the tribe is the three-fold division of the people into zoonymic septs namely, the Pole¹, the Pukowa'ngo, and Tu'k'w'it. These having been translated by other writers as Turkey, Tortoise, and Wolf "clans" respectively, although Harrington, who uses these terms, has realized the difficulty of classifying Delaware society, and after sounding a note of caution has adopted the designation of "phratry" or totemic group as applicable to them. The concepts of association between the human members of these groups and the animals whose classification they bear are far from being clear at present. One point of importance to be brought out, however, is that the translations given above do not properly represent the meanings the terms are intended to convey. The terms in question are generic not specific; Pole¹, denoting any bird classified as belonging to the fowls or scratchers; Pukowa'ngo denoting the reptilians of the group testudinata (the term having the literal meaning of "sticky heels," derived from the habit of slowly lifting the foot when walking, characteristic of the turtles) and Tu'k'w'it, "round foot," denoting the quadrupeds. In the basis of this classification of mankind a religious rather than social symbolism may be detected. The term in Delaware denoting these divisions is la'ke'in, "manner of doing." These groups are not exogamous. Descent is through the mother. In ceremonial rites they each enjoy special privileges, have allotted duties to perform, segregated places of seating, the animal emblem as a name signature in common, and their own chiefs and council of three. Throughout the account of the ceremony reference will be made to these groups under their native designations.

Concerning the other groupings of Delaware society, upon which Harrington has published some discussion, there is no pressing reason for treatment at present from the point of view of the annual ceremony. In all, Harrington lists eighteen of these and refers to them as "clans" composing his "phratries."² Their names are not totemic. Since they do not function as social units in the ceremony to which we are giving attention they need not be treated further.

¹ Harrington I, pp. 81-82, 109; II, pp. 209-11. L. H. Morgan (Ancient Society, N. Y. 1877, pp. 171-3), using first hand Delaware sources in Kansas, first founded this classification.

² Harrington II, pp. 210-11. His group nomenclature follows that of Morgan (op. cit., p. 172).

- 614 We may dismiss for the present, the problem of their origin after
 621 giving the opinion of our informant, with which Harrington coincides,
 that they were local groups, district populations in an older habitat,
 which had accumulated the characteristic of sib groupings with
 maternal descent and exogamy. Heckewelder,¹ over a century ago,
 who knew the Delawares so well, had sound reasons for his opinion
 on the character of the triple "totemic" groupings as being geograph-
 ical divisions, originally tribal subdivisions. These, he continues to
 say in his discussion, again developed local sub-groupings that took
 name from localities, the eighteen so-called "clans" of Morgan and
 Harrington. The Delaware designation for these groups is *wihla'in*,
 "name or title."

128 EXPLANATION OF CHARACTERS USED IN THE TEXT

In general conformity with the suggestions of the committee on the transcription of Indian languages, I have employed the following characters in the transcription of the text. Occasional variation in the spelling of native terms will be found in the narrative, due to variability of pronunciation by the informant. This it has been thought wiser to retain until a more detailed study of sounds and phonetic laws can be made.

- 194 The Oklahoma dialect does not abound in the voiceless final vowels
 104 and syllables which, according to Sapir,² characterize the dialect spoken by the Delawares of the Grand River reserve in Ontario.

There is no indication whatever in Delaware of an *r*, or *ʔ* (*ʔ*) recorded by Brinton for instance, (in *Lenape Dictionary*), as in Munsee and Mahikan, and by Campanius (1645-96).³

p, *b* bilabials, occasionally intermediate when preceding the dark vowels, *a*, *o*, *u*.

p, a true, slightly aspirated, surd.

m bilabial similar to English *m*.

t surd, as *t* in English *ten*.

d intermediate alveolar sonant between surd and sonant quality.

f a pure slightly aspirated surd.

s surd, sibilant, corresponding to English *s* when followed or preceded by *i*, otherwise with slightly deflected tongue tip bringing it closer to *θ*, (*ʔ*) with which it corresponds in Munsee.

n alveolar, not differing from English *n*.

ŋ post-palatal, corresponding to English *ng* in *king*.

k somewhat intermediate surd stop, medial palatal similar to English *k* in *lock*. Often not distinguishable from *g*.

¹ Heckewelder, op. cit., pp. 51-53, 250.

² E. Sapir, Geol. Survey of Canada, Summary Report, 1912, p. 6.

³ The supposed change from *r* to *ʔ* in later Delaware is discussed by Heckewelder, Trans. Amer. Philoa. Soc. IV, 1834, pp. 351-90.

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

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k^w the preceding sound followed by aspiration followed by closure of lips as in position for w. 194
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g sonant stop, corresponds to English g in go.

l not differing from English l.

l^w surd lateral l with moderate aspiration. Not a frequent sound.

h aspirated, rough breathing following vowel.

h more forcible breathing than preceding, posterior lingual position but no contact with palate. (not equivalent to English sh, ch, th).

h may be juxtaposed to a, e, t.

x surd, spirant, palatal-lingual in position, similar to cā in German bach (This was written cā by the German missionaries (Zeisberger and Heckewelder) in Pennsylvania and Ohio, who wrote Delaware. Occasionally it becomes a spirant uvular, with medium stress force. It varies in quality from a strong h to a completely closed spirant, but is always voiceless. (Roman x in English text).

c medial palatal surd, as sh in English wish.

tc surd affricative, as ch in English church.

w, v semi-vowels

· denotes lengthening, or as in English doubling, of vowel or consonant.

· whispered with position of lips for w, after g or k.

Vowels

a, e, o, u, i open, medium length.

a[·], e[·], o[·], u[·], i[·] open, long, with prolongation

a as in German mann.

e as in English yes.¹

o as in English Moses, but more open, often difficult to distinguish from u.

u labialized as in English put.

i as in English pin.

ē as ee in English queen, or as in French si.

! , " indicate whispered vowel following preceding sound.

ai

ao

au

} full glides, not diphthongs.

o open obscure, shorter than d.

a open, obscure, as English u in but. Sometimes with nasal quality.

o closed long.

o closed, medium long a like English ow in law.

The texts in Delaware and English are divided off to form corresponding paragraphs and sentences on opposite pages.

¹ This sound Doctor Michelson represents by s in his Delaware texts and notes. To my ear, however, as heard from the dictation Witapano'xwa, it inclines to the e series.

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Plate I—Face paintings of persons taking part in the Delaware Big House Ceremony.
[Upper five designs worn by men, (upper center by Samuel Anderson, lower right hand pattern by Little Stout), upper center commonly used by drummers, lower center worn by women.]

p. 78 (A)]

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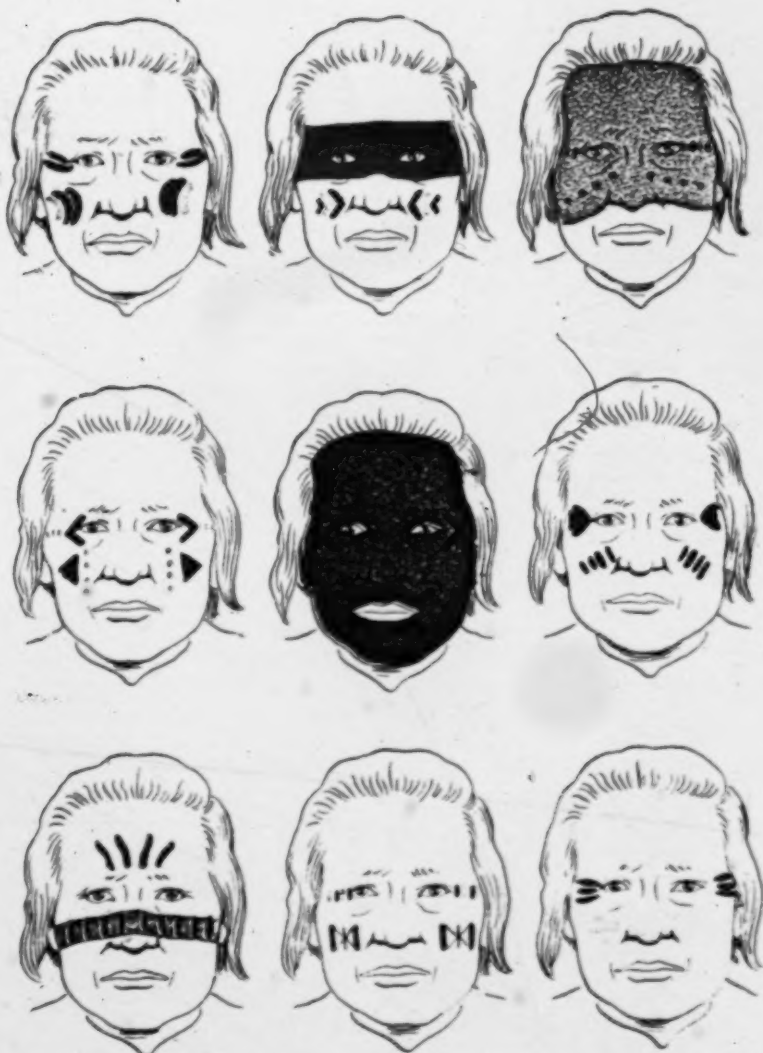


Plate 11—Face paintings worn by men taking part in social dances, and only permitted to the drummers in the Big House Ceremony. These are commonly known as warrior's or fatay dress paintings.

[Facing p. 78(B)]

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Plate III—Face paintings worn by men taking part in Social dances, and only permitted to the drummers in the Big House Ceremony. These are commonly known as warrior's or fancy dress paintings.

[Facing p. 78 (c)]

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Plate IV—Patterns for painting the cheeks and temples of men when dressing for social dances, but not to be worn in the Big House Ceremony.

[Facing p. 78(D)]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

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Origin of The Ceremony
and
Formal Preparations

[p. 79]

I

ORIGIN OF THE CEREMONY, AND FORMAL PREPARATIONS

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Ehe'ki wu'ndji alami'xing yu'ni xingwika'on! lo'mowe wu'ndji alami'yan ne' pe'tamweo'kan yu'kwe e'lowe'ndang wa'ni lona'pe ga'mwin. o'nda k'teuk'hake'hela'k we'mi yuta'li e'lai'ke't lona'pe. na'xpone we'mi se'soe wica'so ako'ka'ki awe'n ke'ko mi'kandamu'wi e'li ga'ei k'teuk'hake'hela. ok e'hal-emi' pe'tei ki'sk'hake'hela. we'mi awe'n ga'ce'lo'ndam onda' neng e'ki'kwi ama'ngi pe'tei yu'ta la'mha'kiye mata'weo'ka' tug enxi't'xkwe'k pe'tei tu'xhakie'hela'k ahihwu'aka ga'ce'londamuwa'kan i'ti wa'ni se'soe wica'su lo'we'n i'ti wa'ni se'soe pa'tama'. napona'hene'n lo'we'n we'mia' awe'n maye'ma'n a'kan-uta'su a'to'la e'lahe'siyeng wundji'a wall'ae'heng na'ni pi'kit mani'tu pe'tei ki'ce'lonmu'kon.

yukwi'neke' k'teuk'hake'hela'ke lowe'n ga'eik'tu'he' nun-hu'kwe yuta' lamha'kiye. ok pe'tei k'tale'tan pu'ng' ok kwe'e'ha'tek ok aha'me'ni' pe'tei k'tale'tan ke'ko ma'lae' ka'noeli-na'kwa't su'kpe'kat' nenike'ko ge'tpe'hela't la'mha'kiyene'ni o'nda' ama'ngi tu'xhakie'hela'k yu'endalausi'eng ga'be'sona oto'he'piq.

yukwe pe'tei ako' wa'kotu'wi ke'ko e'lingo'tuk' ne' su'kpe'ka ke'ko ge'tala'mwing'. ne' o'nda' ki'akake'hela'k ha'ki ok enen'onda'ne'go'tek pu'ng' ok kwe'e'ha'tek lo'we'n nale'tonen ulo'x e'yan ma'ta'nto.

Napona'hane'n o'nda' maye'mand' lo'nowak lo'we'n pa'tama' a' wa'ni lona'pe e'li wei'tote't' ahihwu'aka teani'lahe'wona na' ge'tan-to'wit. nan-ekwu'ndji wi'caluko'nen. pi'pi'li awe'n pa'suk'wi lo'we' "e'lahiyu'ni de'ae'i'mwin ok nga'ki

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

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I

ORIGIN OF THE CEREMONY AND FORMAL PREPARATIONS

First of all, whence the beginning of this Big House? It was long ago in the beginning, that worship which is known to the Delawares as Gamwing.¹ It was when there was a period of quaking of the earth throughout where the Delawares inhabited. And even all the animals were frightened, so much that creatures could do nothing because so greatly was the earth shaking. And for great distances came crevices in the earth. Everyone was in great disturbance of mind. And so when such huge gaps appeared, even of unknown depth extending here into the world below, it produced to the utmost, great disturbance of mind. Even the animals were so terrified, it is said, that those animals prayed. And accordingly, it is said, all the creatures came into council to consider about a possible way to proceed so that we might please that Pure² Spirit, even the Creator.

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¹ Mention of this term as the proper name of the ceremony has been previously made.

² For discussion see page 50. pi'itak, "clean" is used to refer to the meat of a wild animal, which, since it is to the Delaware possessed of a spiritual nature, is religiously clean; pi'isat, "clean, pure, undefiled," embodies the entire concept of purity.

Now at the time when the earth quaked, so it is said, a great cracking, rumbling noise arose here from down in the ground below. And there came rising dust and smoke, while here and there came rising something sticky, looking like tar³, a black fluid. That substance overflowed down into the earth. That was when the great gaps opened in the ground, here where we dwell upon our mother's body.

So even it was not known what purpose was intended for the black fluid substance blown forth from below. There the earth lay gaping open and when the dust and smoke were seen, it was said to be the breath of the Evil Spirit.

³ mal'acit, sticky substance, (cp. Shawnee meaning, "sugar"). The narrator added, "The Indians of today do not know what that fluid was. They liken it to the flowing of oil from the newly discovered oil fields."

And then when the men were called together, it was said that the Delawares ought to pray, for it would seem that the Great Spirit was very seriously angry with them. That is why he frightened us. One after another, certain ones arose saying, "This, behold, is my dream,

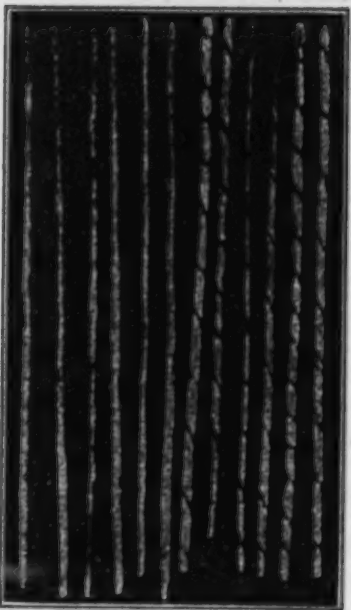


Fig. 24—Delaware Prayer Sticks (Hist.
Com. of Pa.)

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Fig. 23—Delaware Corn mortar
and pestle used in Ceremony
(Hist. Com. of Pa.)

[p. 89 is blank]

539 a' weta'konu'tamen ok ngaski'a la'so'win wola'ki we'miki'ko
 e'li'nama." yukwe'lowe'n hi'tami ga'tote' wik'ha'han'a. na'xpone
 giel'm'got' e'li'na'ko nentwi'kwam ok elki'kwi' poh'e'n'de'k' ok
 me'ca'ka. na'xpone lo'we'n ee'la'hene'n lak'hi'kon neako'nda
 yu'nite' elai'x'xi'ka'k' ok wehe'ndapan'a'k'xi'neng' wu'ndji
 skonde'e. ok nax'nte a'nhu'kwi'xi'no'k ne'ki'k' moea'kok' ok
 nax'a' ni-pao'ciak' nakatk'u'sowak'. ok nihi'ni'ca we'nda'kwi
 skw'nde ikate xkwita'ke saku'sowak ok le'la'i' xh'wite ni-p-
 aoci ok i'ka me'ca'ka yu'wi'kwam moei'hila'n. we'mite ni-pao-
 ciak' kaak'ca'sowak. ok yu'ki'k' pemi'tei' e'nda' a'nhukwi'x'ing'
 yu'moa'a'kuk' wendjikapa'wak ne'k' ni-pao'ei' xkwito'se ta'li
 gaxpi'su' pe'mi'tei'hila'k te'gwe'tik' naga'lkwo't. ok i'ka
 onax'k'we pemi'tei'hi'le a'pa'cia'. ok ne'ki'k' owi'kan'ak' neli'p'
 hake'e' le'la'uhok to'n-da' a'nhukwi'xi'nan alowi'tei'te' awe'n
 me'ca'k'si't' na'te'one wu'ndji a'lomi' ask'opi'k'ha'n. we'mite
 enxi'nakalko'tuk' da'xan. na'xpone ne'k' lema'taxpa'ciak' ok
 pakasi'ka'x'ko nahe'il' nawi'k'pi' hakalko'su e'nda' a'kone'k'
 heng'.

ok we'nda'kwi' wa'ni le'la'i' e'pit' ni-pao'ei' na'te'nen-
 ta'li tande'uhe'n. nane' tepoekwi't hukwe'yung' dali' pi'it'
 a'kone'k'ha'su. na'te'ne' i'lhlik'tala'mo kwe'cha'te'k'. ok we'mi
 ni-pao'ei' a'pa'mi' awe'n me'ca'k'si't' na'te'one ta'li wolca'sw
 moei'gholi'kan wu'eking' ok on-a'xpone pa'zi'it' ne'wueki'ng
 maykona'su ok yax'ki'ji sokona's.

ok oka'i' e'belagwe'pit' awe'n na'te'one dalinhaka'lkot' aki'ko.
 ok nax'a' lo'n-owak' ok nax'a' xkwe'yok pipi'na'won kwu'tite pole'
 ok pukowa'ngo ok kwu'ti' tu'k'si't'. deliki'eim'kwu'sin tal'te
 mikamo'sin tota'se'gi ga'mwing' lo'we'n a'tox' ni'ca' t'xu'k'woni
 pa'tama'n na'nisha'ki de'phato'wak e'li'pang' da'xan'a. ka'teina'x
 xkwe'yok talim'kwu'sin telik'ohomone'yo xakwi'm ok wi'xan'ta
 wio'a. ok we'mitaxkwi' eek'a'a'ak xange'yok wikwa'ham'iq. ok
 e'nhao'k' kwutai'kane ke'k' e'nxan xange'ti't'. ok li'm'kot' dali'-
 to'awe'n haka'taman ke'k' e'nda' mha'lang' me'mi'te'ing eeka'si-
 keti. ta'li we'miteawe'n we'hendji'kane'ik' la'mik'wa'ham'ete tali
 mi'tao ok naheli' tanape'ma nax'a'n kwu'ti' gi'kwe.

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

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"This, behold, is my dream,

and I can thus explain it and sing it in every way just as I saw it." 539^x
 And now, it was said, first of all there must be a house built. And 773
 also to be planned how that house should look both as to its inside 346
 dimensions and height. And also, it was said what would be the size of
 the door here to be at the direction of the setting sun¹ and at the direc-
 tion of the sunrise. And there will be jointed sections of the logs,
 and three posts used at the sides. And two will be on each side of the
 door reaching to the height of the top of the roof. And in the middle
 shall be the big post. And it shall be as high as the height of the house.
 And all posts shall be notched on top. And these at the side where
 the logs join shall stand as stud-posts facing each other, there held
 together at the top using short cross-ties.² And there shall be on top
 a larger timber cross-piece. And the ridge rafters in two pieces in
 the center where they join shall be more than a person's height, there
 from the beginning of the roof-pitch. And shall be made of various
 woods. And also the rafters and flat boards shall be used with the
 bark on, likewise in the roofing.

¹ The Big House, as we learn here, was conceived in a dream-vision revealed [787]
 to certain persons by the Great Spirit. The recitation of experiences, obtained
 while in a dream state or in a disturbed emotional condition, has ever contin-
 ued to form the key note of the ceremony so founded.

² The present Big House on Little Caney River, Oklahoma, is set north and
 south, evidently so-placed by mistake, due to the position of the river.

³ The notched binders fitted into notches of the posts to lock them.

And at both sides where sets the center post, there also shall be built [354]
 the fires. Right there opposite and above them, an uncovered place
 shall be left in the roof. And that will be to force out the smoke. And
 on all the posts at about a person's height there shall be carved the [778]
 mask-image face,¹ and also half the face painted red and the other
 side blackened.

And around the sides where the people sit, there shall be put dried 539^x
 grass. And three men and three women chosen, one shall be of the 773
 Pole² group, and of the Pukowa'ngo, and of the Tu'k³-nit. Their 796
 service shall be to labor as long as the Gamwing, it was said, ten and
 two days¹ praying. All this time they furnish sufficient well-dried
 wood. It shall be, for those women, obligatory that they grind up corn
 and cook meat. And the Attendants all together feed in the house.
 And they pay them one shoulder-length³ of wampum every time they
 furnish food. And it is the rule that the people shall use wampum
 when purchasing food from the Attendants. There everyone who re-
 cites visions in the House will eat there with his family three times
 each day.

¹ These are the sculptured personifications of the spirit-forces.

² For the discussion of this archaic style of enumeration in the ceremony
 see page 62.

³ Measured from the shoulder point to the tip of finger of the extended arm.

^x539 Ake^s ege^ston eitako^s mogo^s nagalkotu^swi e^snda^s wi^skhang^s
ok ma^sta k^spa^ssik^shak^soi^st. m^shi^sthakie^s la^smitkowa^shame^s.
ax^stu^sx^se^s haka^sla^sn e^snda^s ula^spi^sland^s puxoni^skan ok ni^sca pa^sk-
ama^skahi^skan^s la^sxauca^ssowak^s. ok maeing^sto^stak^s wole^sca^sn
yaxki^s wila^ski^s eli^snaksu^swak^s. la^spi^spi^sli^s lant^sca^ssu hit^skwe^sca^s
ok ne^sli^s? hakalko^stu^s e^snda^s nayko^shakge^sti^s daleka^sok. ok
taxane^sndjo ha^ste^s e^snda^s wis^sm^sxkan^ssik^s k^sca^stai ok kol^sre-
ni^sxkan. la^spi^spi^sli^s taxane^sndjo ha^ste^s e^snda^s lona^ssi^sk^s ola^sman
ok pe^skon ok ene^sxpene nene^sixa^sla^sn pop^sho^sk^swua.

ok atax ni^sca mani^sto^sun hit^sk^swu^ssa lowenda^ssu ma^smendahi^s-
kana ale^snde pop^sta^sk^sge^sk^sha^ssowa ok ale^snde so^ssape^sk^sha^ssuwa.
awe^sn ka^sta wi^stasowi^ste na^slone naka^stamen e^snda^s wi^stel
lango^ssi^s. lowe^sn ta^sspale^stamahana hukwe^syung atax ni^sca e^suxi^s
pi^stao^spanik^s e^spit^s na gi^sce^slemu^skong.

yu^skwe yu^sni xingwika^son e^snda^s chi^ski mani^stung lota^ssu
na^slone kwu^sti xingwe pa^stamweo^skan ke^snowi^s nani^s maeingok^s
la^swande neheni^spait i^ska hukwe^syung e^sci tel^son ok ni^sca
txuka^st. ok pi^stao^spane moca^sk^ssu e^sli na^slonan lo^swen gola^sk^sw.
hikan na^sni. ki^sce^slemu^skong tola^shon. na^slon-e^sni wundji^sxan
aha^snhukwi we^smi pa^stamweo^skan wa^sni me^sxke^syo^skosit^s ne^sxpe^s-
lomu^skok^s wu^sndji we^smi ta^skok^s pa^stamweo^skan e^siki^skamek^s.

ok a^spi^stawan wani lona^spe ke^sko ne^ska^siko e^snda^s tande^su-
heng. lowenda^ssu sang^shi^skan. e^snda^swe^sn tande^suho^spi^spi^snawan
ecka^snak awe^sn nalaup^sit^s eitako^s pi^sisi^s na^slonen tali^ste
sangwe^suho^s la^smitkowa^shame. tam^sse^shang^s malaa^sp^sxko nhaka^s.
lkat^s e^snda^s tande^suho^s la^smitkowa^shame ok tai^skok naka^slkat^s
e^snda^s malaa^sp^sxko tande^suho^sheng.

yu^skwe^ske^s we^sade^slomu^skuk^s wa^sni lona^spe petel^sna^sx^swa^sngo^s.
ma^sn da^skwi^s wa^sni ma^sn^s tali^ste ataxni^sca t^sxu^skweni^s pa^stama^sn.
yu^swkenece^s maa^skwika^son e^slowe^ssik^s xingwika^son.

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

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No iron or nail is used when building the House, and no wooden floor. It has a dirt floor inside the House. Deerhide is used when the drum is tied together and two drum-sticks are cut forked. And small faces are carved on one side, alike in appearance. Another different pair of sticks are made plain and these are used when the cranes are singing. And a wooden bowl is made ready when they mix up the tobacco and kinnickinnick. Another different wooden bowl is provided when they carry the red paint and puccoon and also there they put cedar. [115]

And ten and two sticks are made, called "means of earnest prayer." And some are marked with spots. Whoever wishes to sing in company shall also use this when helping to lift up the prayer, it is said, with concentration of spiritual force far above to the ten and two sky-levels where dwells the Creator. [739]^x

And now this Big House when first built, they say of it, was the one great prayer-creed, that this carved post in the middle of the House, standing there reaches to the above through as many as ten and two strata. And the strata of sky light are as high as that post, it is said, this being the fastener. That is the Creator's staff. From that very staff, branch off all prayer-creeds of the red-people given to them, whence come all other prayer-creeds of the world. [778]

¹ Meaning the drummers. There being two drummers, one of them sings in a tone which the other repeats immediately after him, in imitation of the manner in which wild cranes cry when flying in response to the call of their leader. The result in tone is similar to an echo. The crane is the Sand-hill crane (*Grus mexicana*), *daleks'ok*, (plural) whence the drummers derive their sobriquet. *ni'kansas* "the leader" is the singer who takes the leading part in the song; the other singer is *extengi'xaw* "after-time." See page 67. [533]

² See footnote 3, page 127.

³ See page 71.

⁴ *ma's-mendahl'kan*. This denotes prayer-sticks used in serious address to the Great Spirit. *ma's-mendawa'mai* "I beg the Great Spirit to do my bidding." Specimens of the plain and decorated prayer-sticks made by the informant are shown (fig. 24).

The bearers of the twelve prayer-sticks give all their spiritual-force to lift the prayer being given by the speaker or the singers to the highest, or twelfth heaven,—the instrumental symbol of raising the word.

And there was given to the Delawares something which is used when they make fire. It is called "ringing noise-instrument". Whomever they chose as fire-maker, any of the Attendants, was of moral habits or spiritually clean, for that one shall drill for fire in the House. Sometimes flint is used when they make fire in the House and pith is used when they make fire with flint. [372]

Now therefore in the beginning the Delawares came to be blessed with religion together with the Munsee; so the prayer worship proceeds for ten and two days. Now that very log-house itself is called Big House. Right here toward the dawn-direction and sun-set direc-

¹ See page 69.

* 539 *nayu' wehe'ndjis'pang' ok e'heli'x' ai'kak' likwun'a'nde' ok we'ndjis'konde' nayu'ni e'heli'x' ai' konami'eng' li'xan tell' pe'tei' tami'ka'to' na' e'ha'ke't.*

we'mi ke'ko axpi'tawon wani' lena'pe ne'kalko'tuk' o'nda' gamwing. na'xpane ke'k'w' gici'm'got' lowe'n. kwutai'kane kwu'tiawe'n me'k'w' onda' wite'n'dang li' we'ndjaj'kane'su yu'ni ne'mi'teing ok ona'xpane o'nda' e'nha'wand yu'ki'k' ecka'sak. e'lilo'we'n wani' e'eka'w' oli'laela'o ne'lit koyon'a'n'a getan'to'. wi'ti' pe'tei' ki'celemu'kong.

o'nda' mikomo'sit' we'mike'ko pwi'li'tun na'ni xkwe' witel ecka'sit' e'li' ako'w' wa'kot'u'wi e'li'ko'tig neni' mikomo'sukakan, wani' lena'pe a'pi'taon do'li ute'ha'n neni'ke'k'w' ne'ka'ko. na'xpane o'nda' alamu'sing me'mi'teing e'itak'ko' naykowike'ko onda' mha'lang ke'k'w' aka'tan. ok onda' me'tei'x'li maena'. sik' ke'k'w'. nayu't' mon'antel'i' wunda'xkwi'i lehelamat'axpi't' wani' elhaket tapi'lak'hikwi hukwe'yung. nane' pemia'pe'hele o'pe'k he'm'tet'. nane'n cela'ta'su we'mi enxa'oha'sik' ke'k'w' ya'i'i' e'n'xan ki'ekwik.

okelowe'n lo'mwe ehi'ki ngamwi'ng'e lami'kwa'hame hu'nd dalimani'ha'n xiq'wi pi'muwa'kan. kooase'n'en na' la'mu'ngwe' pi'mu'wakaning' hata'so wa' nan-etol'i' pen-djine'yo mate'lnu'. wak' ok mbi' naka'ikot' nayu't' a'sen-iks'e li' susuk'ha'su nalen'e'elowe'sik' pepaxu'tign. we'miawe'n enxi'pe'ndjiti' gaski'k'. en'i' la'mu'ngwe' axpi't' lo'we'n gacilo'su. a'lo'nde awe'n mat' xaki' a'p'ti'k'su nan-ewu'ndji k'tu'xhola'n. yu'ki'k' go'ski' tot' e'ha'ki' teitanu'homa't' nalen'e'k' a'ga'e'ile'suwak.

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

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tion it has extended. And the doors are opposite each other. Right here in the direction of the sun-set, it is the rule that the Bringer-in come, bringing the ceremony into the House. 539^x
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Everything was provided for the Delawares in the Gamwing. There was also wampum supplied by rule, it is said. Each person gives one shoulder-length for helping to prepare this food and also for when they pay the Attendants. And, so it is said, the Attendant is pleasing to him our father the Great Spirit, even the Creator. 539^x
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When the workers' purify everything,¹ these women with the Attendants, it can not be conceived how sacredly valuable those labors are. It has been destined for the Delaware that that very wampum he uses becomes his heart. And moreover when purchasing food, or when anything of value is bought, he employs wampum. And then a quantity is gathered. Here at the left side of the House where the Bringer-in sits, at a certain height above the ground, there a white cloth is hung along the wall. There is suspended all the wampum, as much as has been gathered together each day over again.² [783]

¹ The word means "to labor" in the sense of doing something for oneself. Corresponding to the term *alo'ke* (Penobscot, Wabanaki) meaning "work," the Delaware denotes working for someone else by *naloka'ke* "I am hired by someone to work."

² The clean, pure character of the Attendants or "workers" diffuses spiritual purity over all those attending the ceremony inside the Big House and strengthens them for the ensuing year.

³ The supply of wampum is renewed each day by those who through spiritual impulses contribute their treasure. They are blessed in proportion. It should be noted that no one is allowed to sell anything at the festival except the Attendants. Outside on the grounds at a distance from the Big House refreshments can be sold for money. But inside the Big House wampum must be used for exchange. In the present ceremonial transactions between the Attendants and the worshippers two or three beads pass for five cents. Some thirty or more years ago, however, when wampum was more plentiful it passed at one bead for a cent. [431]

And it was said, long ago in the beginning at the Gamwing, inside the Big House, they built a great sweat-house. They heated rock and put it inside that sweat-house. There the shamans' crawled in. And water was used here for pouring upon the rocks. That was called testing with heat. Everyone going in there and staying for any length of time was said to be a great man. Some person would be exhausted in a little while for which reason they took him out. Those enduring it for a considerable length of time, those are the great men.³ 539^x
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¹ There were two classes of shamans. Some had healing power and are called *nenpi'kees* "sweating doctor." The men who recite their visions in the Big House are also *meto'lanu* in the Delaware classification, their description being *kaci'lae-u wehendjikan'yo* "great men who perform in a single file [like the vertebral articulation of men and animals]." See page 64.

² Amounting to a title denoting "prophet, reciter of vision, healer, priest all in one."

x539 telkon-owi^u welu'ngan haka'ikot^u e'nda^u tel'k'hi^u keng xiywi-
ka'oning. ok ens'e'ka's kwe'n'e'k hi'tuk^u kweli'unde's kole'nem
nalen-e's ninhaka'ikot^u enda's k'etuko'k'ho'si'k' te'nda' ok
li'm'got^u tal'i'te' woli's o'sol-e'nema'ne'ya enyan pi'ake'k tetase'gi
pa'tamang. ok wa'ni a'eka's nikani'xiq e'nyant' lo'k'wik' we'mi
e'lai'ke'ti oka'ti yux xiywi'ka'oning nane' peppa'maka'n kel'e'nem
siya'k'w. ok awe'n maxka'wande to'li' pe'ttee'ho'sin kwi'tela'.
ok wa'ni mi'mas ale'po'ma'n. ok we'homa'su lo'we'te naxa'n
tomi'ke'k' tomi'ke'k' tomi'ke'k'. ok kandju'kwe giei'ma'n wu'ndji
wa'ni len'ape'i e'tcan tet'hu'nawe's nan-e'a'ki ge'naxgitu'n
yu'ni e'ndama'chel'aj tal'i ma'ta awe'n petu'wun me'hemen'ing.

enda's pona'e'lon-dang awe'n e'li'xing we'mi kwi'teletowakan
ok ale'pondowa'ran e'nda maya'ile'k k'xwu'su a'pie'i e'lipena's
yu'ki'k taxwe'yemon-a'nak awe'n e'nda a'lawi'xeni't' ako's
pi'li'i' ok ako's le'lem-a'i' notei'tun wi'xening. ok matatomi'ke'i
to'tase'gi mi'kam-u'ruk' ne' po'lowa'kan hwu'ska enda gam-
wit'. ok li'm'kot' tal'ia' awe'n kwi'ta tomi'kala'n sese'sa
to'tak'ta' e'linak'si't' oxtca'nond awe'n.

ok nayu't' topaakwi'i we'ndjiakonde'k kwe'tteaming nane'e' ole'
to'pi-lak'hi'kwi ta'li tonde'uhen. ni'ca' laxao'ruk' ni'pala'n na'ne
a'pa'ei pom-a'me nane'e' ee'helela'n ama'ngi hu'sak ehe'ndali'.
xadeng. nane'e' pe'xu'tei ni'pala'n ne'xe'li laxao'k'si't' hi'tuk' na'ne
cela'tu'n wiyu'sa. ok xiygwi to'xta'kan nane'e' wandak'kwi'tei
tonde'yung ni'ei pi'tae' eha'tung xa'akwim nalen-e' haka'ikot'.
enda sa'p'ain yu'ki'k' xkwe'i't' acka'sak nane'n toli' mika'n-
demon e'nyan o'pang ok lo'kunowi'i toli' koho'ke'n manitu'wak'
x'akwimalu'kat ok sa'pang. tam'ae'ha'ng ni'ca' e'tako' ne'wa
koho'kana haka'ikot' nahali' ne'lit kwen'u'sene'k'.

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

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A turkey's ¹ wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.

¹ The specific term for the Wild Turkey (*Meleagris gallinacea*) is *tel'-kanem*, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term *poles'* which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

² The informant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.

³ Being in their catamenial periods.

⁴ This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set up right and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty, every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

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nayu'ni we'nda'kwi naxa' hemaika'uona' da'li giel'xan.
 ne'tami'xing nan'en wi'kin nika'ni'xing a'eka' nawu'ndji we'mi
 acka'aa'. o'nda' awe'n yu'kik' acka'aa' ma'ta mikom'o'it'
 kas'ki a'nhukolu'ke'mu to'li mana'xe'n eitako' te'hi'ke' wikwa'.
 ham'iq ok ta'mse wi'xant

a'pi'taon wani lona'pe mae'ingholi'kan e'li ko'n-u la'ko'
 nani'awe'n nehela'lat' neli'le mae'ing'go ya'i' en'xangaxting'
 ika'te tolo'xola'o xing'wika'oning ne'li'l 'do'e'ingoma' e'li
 nalona'ni' tali non-u'na'n we'mi te'kan-aa'aa'. ok lowe'n mu'xo'-
 mase' alope'noni'i ha'ng' a'pa'mase'. nayu' pop'a'mi wi'cala'n
 e'teing'ha'li'zei mima'aa'. o'nda' wi'nowe't' wa'ni mi-ma's
 lale'po'ma' te'nha'wate pa'kikwaa'ta' tali ma'ta wihi'cal-eko'.
 wan.

o'holami' li' wol-a'pandama'te awe'n e'ka e'belat lo'we'n
 ga'eila'su e'xuni'kana kolo'n-e' ta'xkoxi' ok ala'ho'n tepa'-
 ko'wi. o'nda' ke'koli'xait' wani mae'ing' ma'la'ci ne'hna'ng'e'
 tali'xein ok ondata't'pi'te ne'li'l xeo'x'onikana no'ga'lala'o o'nda'
 mi'land' k'wea'tai ea'kwiga'soha'ng'. nayu' pa'nda'son-a'kaning
 to'ndale'nomon ne' k'ea'tai. we'mi ha'ng' mi'mas lale'po'ma'n
 tali' xko'kamacho'n na'ne po'nda'son-a'kaning ti'hilane'hin
 wu'ndjite ma'ta awe'n kamutama'wan kamuxo'maon'ana ne'ni-
 kwucha'tai. ok lo'we'n we'mi kwe'naxgi'to'n tali'a' ma'ta
 awe'n pe'xosikako'wan pa'lsowa'kan. ce'la'honon li'xan yu'ni
 mae'ing'holi'kan-i ma'n-ituwa'kan.

enda' asemi'xing yu pa'tamwo'kan we'miawe'n lale'po'ma'n
 e'ite ika'hato'n we'mika'ko nan-hake'tang o'nda lona'pe

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Here on each side three tents¹ are provided. In the first² there 539^x
 camps the leading Attendant, from here outwards the rest of the At- 796
 tendants. When any one of these Attendants does not serve, he can
 hire a substitute to provide fire-wood or to sweep in the Big House,
 and occasionally to cook.³

¹ hemak.kaw'ma', "cloth houses" (plural).

² Meaning nearest to the door of the Big House.

³ For the service he pays in wampum.

The Delaware were given the Mask-Image¹ so it became the rule 539^x
 that whoever owns that mask should take it into the Big House each 796
 year, that mask, because it is he who has complete control over all the
 wild animals. And it is said that our grandfather² is believed to walk 778
 around early each morning. Now here he goes about frightening unruly [776]
 children. When the "one who is our grandfather begs," the child
 is taught that he shall pay a plug of tobacco so that he will not scare
 them.

If the person who assumes to wear the mask is able to see clearly³
 for a long distance it is said that he is a man of power. He
 carries a turtle-rattle⁴ and a staff of twisted wood.⁵ When the mask [293]
 makes his utterance it resembles a horse whinnying, and when he makes
 signals using his turtle-rattle, then they give him tobacco. Customarily
 he kicks at persons. Here in a pouch he carries that tobacco. Every
 child customarily is taught that he gathers snakes and throws them
 into that pouch in order that no one may steal our grandfather's to-
 bacco. And it is also said that our grandfather keeps guard over all
 so that no one may be overcome by disease. That also is the teaching
 in reference to the spiritual doctrine of the Mask-Image.

¹ The following passage refers to the mask image mas'ighol'tan about
 which something has been said in the introduction. The composite character
 of the annual ceremony is shown by the admission of this rite into the cere-
 mony complex in honor of the one who "has control over all the wild game."

² The spirit represented by the mask also falls into the classification of
 consanguinity, and is so addressed.

³ This evidence of personal power has already been dealt with (page 41).

⁴ The rattle referred to is not the small hand rattle carried by the reciter [534]
 of visions but a large instrument made of a snapping-turtle shell provided with
 a wooden handle (16.7 in. in length) suggestive of the rattle employed in
 Iroquois dance accompaniments. Harrington describes and illustrates one
 of these Delaware instruments (1, pp. 32, 36, fig. 2). (See fig. 7, p. 36).

⁵ The distribution of the walking staff as a ceremonial baton and its function
 in the ethnology of the eastern tribes has been generally overlooked by in-
 vestigators yet we find evidence of its use over a wide area in the formalities
 of native behavior among both the Algonkian and Iroquois,—not to overlook [293]
 the fact that the Delaware imagine the Great Spirit to possess one, the same
 being symbolized by the center post in the Big House. The Delaware desig-
 nate the staff by alas'hon (cp. Malecite, abato'wan).

When the worship ceremony begins everyone is instructed to wear 539^x
 things conforming strictly to Delaware style, such for instance as the 796

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

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Fig. 25—The Delaware red deer-hair roach with curved bone spreader, bone tube and eagle feather (rear view), and the fur head band with horns, worn in ceremonial dress.

[p.99 is blank]

x 539 t'xtang ta'macha'ng a'xtubi'ekuna' citako' ne'hen-sogge'ai't' mi'.
 laxk' o'nda' mani'hand' t'pasko'lu'. ok we'mike'ku ma'ta'pl'
 aha'ak' nahali't' lon'hakso'na. ok awe'n li'te'ha'te nayu'
 acka'ak'e'yu tonda' e'laykin wu'ni'hila'tamen e'li'na'ko' ola'man
 ne'ga'tam. ok awe'n li'te'ha'te' a'hamawi' mi'kwuna p'ai'ka.
 we'miha'ng' helo'as kala'nt'pe'pi'su onda' tami'ke't'.

ok wu'ni'hila'tamen awe'n e'le'la'kit' cu'k' maykola'man ok
 wisa'u'it' ha'ng' di'tamigi' aka'lkwur'. tako'ta masette'
 awe'n wu'eking' eohomo'wan amati'ti' ha'ng' awe'n e'la'ko
 wo'nanung' eita'ko pami'tei' wu'ckingwige'e. kattel'wani me-
 xka'kwandale's ga'ski gi'te'ha'te soko'la'ko citako' ame'man-
 dje'la'ko. yuk' we'mi xkwe' li'te'ha'te' mayke'la'ko on-da'
 tami'ke't'. na' elha'ket' nane'lokhi'kwi e'la'kana'n we'mi ne-
 ki'k' masi'ngok'.

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deer-tail or horse-hair when made into a roach.¹ And everything is beaded including moccasins. And if any one wishes it he goes there to the Attendant where he may choose paint of whatever color he prefers.^{539x} And those desiring it wear eagle feathers.⁷⁹⁶ All the old men customarily have the head-band when going into the Big House.³⁰²

And anyone may choose his style, but red paint and yellow, by custom, are more frequently used. A person does not rub it on his face all over. A person usually paints his cheek or at the sides of his eyes lightly. But the relief-drummers can, if desired, paint black or paint fancy. All these women if they desire may paint red when entering the Big House. And also when the ceremonial leader first enters the Big House that is the time when all those Face-images² are painted.

¹ The "roach" is the dyed deer hair or horsehair crest worn by young and middle aged men, worn on the top of the head. (pl. —). The hair stands upright, reaching from the crown to the nape of the neck, kept in place by an ornamentally carved bone spreader forming the base for a bone tube in which an eagle feather is fastened. This is a characteristic head ornament of the Delaware, ancient as well as modern, allusions to it being found in the early explorers accounts from the Carolinas to Maine. It seems to have accompanied the shaved painted head as an attachment to the scalp-lock of warriors. Throughout the central Algonkian area and the southern Siouan tribes it appears with great prominence in later writings, and has finally spread among the Prairie peoples possibly through diffusion through the agency of the Omaha. The Delaware term for the roach, *tapasko-wu*, has reference to the shaved head and stiffened hair; that for the bone spreader, *cuxa-las* signifies "rattling pendant." These objects and their descriptive terms represent extremely ancient properties of eastern North America, having obvious connections with archaeological objects of bone which have puzzled investigators. The distribution of the roach head-ornament offers an interesting problem. Its occurrence is noted with practically no aberrant modifications among the early populations from Maine southward to Florida, west through the Iroquois to the Central Algonkian, the southern and eastern Siouan tribes.

Among the earliest references to the Delaware wearing the roach we may cite Denton's (1670) mentioning men affecting as head-wear "a kind of a Ruff made with Deer's hair, and dyed a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich." (See quotation of pertinent data in A. B. Skinner, "Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 36). Neither the article itself nor the sentiment attached to it has altered much among the Delaware since this was written two hundred and sixty years ago.

² There are limitations in the colors and patterns in face-paintings. The accompanying chart shows the designs and areas of the face appropriate for the decoration of individuals of various classifications (plate I).

³ The Delaware seldom trim or cut the feathers they use when dressing for the Big House. They say the feathers are perfect as they grow on the living bird and should not be altered. Only the feathers of birds considered noble, such as the eagles and certain of the larger hawks are sanctioned.

⁴ Elderly men give up wearing the roach substituting the fur headband with beaded rosette and small feathers at the side, (see fig. 25), or simply the handkerchief tied around the hair into which a feather is stuck. The elders wear their hair shoulder-length.

⁵ The drummers who assist the chief drummers are permitted by rulings of the Big House tradition to wear black in painting, or to paint the faces according as their fancy may prompt (see plate II).

⁶ The images on the side and center posts of the Big House. The renewal of the paint, half black and half red on these images is a sacred act performed out of the reverence for the "Grandfathers" at the same time when the communicants of the ceremony apply the paint to their own faces.

X 539 ni'ca' tayko'xak' mani'ha'n te'kane'il', ku'ti e'loweng nika'
ni'x'ing' cu'xwani'kan ok pi'li' alowi'tei elki'ke'ti' lo'we'n
ha'ng' elnge'ki'i' tayko'xak'. na'lan'e'k' naga'ikwusowa'k' on-da'
pa'tamang' e'n'xan pi'ake'k' nayu' teloma'ngane' pami'tei' sko'nde
ha'la'n ne'ki'k' tayko'xak. e'nda' pa'su'k'wit' wa'ni' elha'ke'ti'
lo'we' "me'tei-ta' nima'te'stu'g' pe'tei' daxkwe'mo'tu'k' me'tei-
ta' dalemi' ki'kan-ak'o'na'nak ne'ki' ma'nito'ak' pe'meko-
tu'tit' yu'ni' ke'namuwo'kan." nane'ce' dal'nakalkwo'sin ok
wa'ni' wendji'kan-e'it' ok na'ni' we'tegasit' kwu'na'wa'o ne'n-
ku'ti ne'li' tayko'xak' e'nda' wendji'kan-e'i'xtit'.

wani' ni'kani'xi'ng' tayko'x' ako' ama'ngowe'i' kat' teina'
wete'kasi'ti' ama'ngowe' lowe'n hang' naxku'tam e'nda' co'xho-
nu'mang'.

e'n'xan gayting' a'teimo'lain' kikowin-owak. wunda'su' to'ta
ki'ekwik' a'kane'ta'su' ok giei'ma'n awe'n temi'ke'ti'. ok wi'-
hila' awe'n pe'muxoxta'k' kuta'e' txa'i'kane' ke'k'. e'li' ya'i'i'
nan-eta'li' wi'hila'n naxa' lo'n-owak' ok naxa' xkwe'ok aeka'aak
ma'e' pona'o'k'. pi-pi'naon' awe'n wingi' nika'ni' aeka'ait' e'li'
ni'ca' pole'ok' ni'ca' pukowa'ngowak' ok ni'ca' tu'k'aitak' pi-
pi'naon'.

yu'ki'k' nikan-i'xi'nhi'tit' aeka'aak kute'li' la'ke'yowak' e'liha'-
ke'ti' na' temi'ke'ti'. yu'kwe' e'nda' naxko'ting' wa'ni' e'eka'a
na'liyu' kutai'kani' ke'k' naxpango'ma'n. ok ela' to'ta giekwik'
ika'li' malkhatig' xi'ngwika'on-ing. e'nda' giei'pi'li'tung' yu'ni'
wikwam ok k'pa'siakwaha'sik ok we'mi' li' kutteoming' teikan-a-
akwe'n we'mi' ok'e' wikwa'hom-ing. na'ce' ki'cana'kot' li' a'lam-ing

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Two shell-rattles they make of a wild creature.¹ One they call the ^{539x} leading rattle and the other, greater in size, is called, traditionally, ⁷⁹⁶ timber-terrapin. And those are used when they pray every night. ⁵³⁴ Here just at the right hand side of the door they place these shell-rattles. When the Master of Ceremonies arrives he says, "Now then, my brothers and my sisters, now as we begin we are approached and touched by those man'i'tu who are carrying this ceremony of worship."² That is how they employ them there. And both the dance-leader and his follower each hold in their hands these shell-rattles when they are dance-leading. The leading shell-rattle does not have a great sound, but that of the follower has a great sound, it is said traditionally, for he does answer when they are rattling.³

⁴It has been mentioned how reverential it is to put to the service of man, the body parts of wild creatures—the native wild fauna which are "pure" by contrast with the defiled animals of a domestic nature. The rattles used by the dance-leaders who sing the recitatives of their visions are shells of (Clatudo) the Box Turtle. [224]

⁵ This is a synonym for the usual term, *pastamwa'kan*.

⁶ For illustrations of these large and small rattles see figs. 2, 15.

Every year the old men hold a council. The day is named, it is ^{539x} talked over, and they decide who shall bring in the ceremony.¹ And ⁷⁹⁶ they name the person who shall carry the six yards of wampum. And ⁶²³ generally they name three men and three women Attendants going to see them.² They select the one who is willing to act as leading Attendant for the two Turkey group representatives, and the two Turtle clan representatives and the two Wolf group representatives are chosen.³

These leading Attendants, one and the same, belonging in the ^{539x} group of the Master-of-Ceremonies, he who opens the ceremony. Now ⁷⁹⁶ when the Attendants have accepted the call, forthwith a shoulder-length of wampum they are given as a symbol of being blessed.⁴ And announcement is made of what day in the future they shall go into camp at the Big House. When they finish cleaning this House⁵ they also plaster it with clay and all then about outside rake it clean. Then

¹ This is the sacred duty of assuming full responsibility for the performance, the term *temi-ke* being a formal one.

² To inform them of appointment and secure their acceptance.

³ In these terms denoting the triple social subdivisions of the Delaware (see discussion on p. 75), we encounter metaphorical conceptions of the animals designated. Thus *poles'* denotes a bird of the order Gallinae, typified in Delaware by the turkey cognate throughout northern and eastern Algonkian (binoe, Ojibwa, pelee. Montagnais-Naskapi, "partridge") Pukowa'go, denoting the tortoise group (Testudinata) literally means "sticky heels," in allusion to the dragging motion of the curious, ponderous creature in lifting his hind feet from the ground. *Tuk'wa't*, literally "round foot" is figurative for the quadrupeds which seem according to my information to include any of the mammals.

⁴ The term used is a formal religious phrase *naxpango'ma's* not translated by a single word, but which I have rendered "being given as a symbol of blessing."

⁵ The informant was undecided whether or not to use the term *menda'm* for the Big House, which is considered to be an old Munsee term.

X₅₃₉ ga'mwin. ok eom-u'te we'miawe'n wehe'ndjikane'it' wela'hala'te
 eum-i'kana ta'xko'it' i'k'ite pwe'owa'e e'n-da pa'tamang'.
 ne'hals'mwe e'hi'ki pa'tama'te wani' lon-a'pe e'n'yan kuti
 gico'xing' i'ka li' welaik'ha'tiq. xingwika'a'oning sto'xeni'ea tx-
 u'kwani pa'tama'n. eu'k' onda' ge'x'ga'xting pili'li'xta'su e'n'yan
 naxa' gi'eo'xig. na'lapi' and'hata'su. lo'we'n lo'xa'ixto'nen onda'-
 we'n mikamo'sit' to'mipa'tama'. na'e'n-da me'kani'hilak' and-
 'ha'tung. lo'we'n yu'kwe'te wu'ndji e'n'yan kuta'e gico'xing
 ga'mwin. eu'k' go'nu' maxga'eo' to'li e'tama' me'tcia'xi cowa'-
 naxgo'sin. mwi'xan'e'sie ondan'e'yo't' wa'ni wu'akolon-a'pe
 e'laeho'sit' kwi'gayo'yoma. nayu'kwe me'tci ax'ikwu'ska
 a'hot' li'mae'hela'n onda' ga'ta'ka'ke'na'mwit' wa'ni lon-a'pe
 ki'ga'xti'gge.

yukwe' li'xan lo'mwe no'tei li' ke'xena'uxki ax'pi'n man'ito'.
 wak' e'li lowe'n we'mi as'ee ok' too'las nahali' wa'ni axpa'm-
 x'k'wit' te'kane' awe'n yukwe' onda' ax'keni'mant' xingwik-
 a'oning.

wa'ni pi'le'it' as'ee ok' too'las aka'ikwu'su e'n-da
 win'aheng. nawu'ndji we'miawe'n pena'howa'ni moe'ingho'li'kan
 ok' we'mi e'li'hika'wi ok' wa'ni taxko'xk' lowe'n mani'tu
 e'li na'lonan kwun'moa yu'ni kaho'sena utohe'pi. ok' wa'ni
 too'las to'li'haka'ikwu'sin li' ho'n. ok' yu'li't mwi'kwun'ma
 hak'ikwu'owak'. e'n-da pi'li'tcha'sik' we'li op'e'xing ku'-
 xona gettanta'wit' mutoma'kan. ok' wu'ndji awe'n weli'na-

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and there preparation is made for beginning the Gamwing. And be-^{539x}
sides, everyone who is to relate a vision and lead a dance, if he has⁷⁹⁶
prepared his rattle of turtle shell, shall see to it to bring it with him
for the ceremony.

There, in the ancient times the beginning of their worship the
Delawares went into camp every month. They worshipped in the Big^[73]
House for a ten and two day period. But then in a few years a dif-
ferent rule made it every three months. And again it was changed.
It was said, "We are hindered in our labor," because of our ceremony.
Whereupon for the last time they changed it. It was said, "From now
on every six months," the Gamwing will be." But indeed it was
discovered that they had become by now too much like the white
man in their life.¹ The young Delawares were ashamed, seeing what
their elders did. And so by this time it is very difficult for the Dela-
wares to assemble when ready to perform the ceremony.²

¹ Among the Delawares, and the affiliated Nanticokes as well, the term
cowa'na, denoting "salt water" came to be used in a dignified sense referring^[607]
to Europeans, since they first appeared from the sea. In the vernacular, less re-
spectful in its sense, the white man was also known as o'ping "white face"
also denoting "opossum." This is more of a sobriquet in Delaware. The
allusions to Europeans in other Eastern Algonkian languages did not follow
the principle of Delaware usage, for the Munsee, aw'e'nik the plural of "who?"
(Brinton, The Lenape and their Traditions), the Mohegan-Pequot, wa'nake,
derives also from aw'a'n, "who"; Wabanaki, awa'nutic, aw'e'nutic of similar
derivation.

² It would appear that the weakening of devotion has been a characteristic
modern tendency among the native pagan groups as well as among Christians.

Such was the ruling long ago how several different kinds of spiritual-
forces were existent, how, it was said, all the wild animals and birds as
well as the creeping wild creatures are the ones to be mentioned¹ in
the Big House.

The pure³ animals and birds only are used when they prepare meat.^{539x}
This is the reason why every one of them, even that Mask-Spirit, and^[262]
all their kind including the Tortoise,⁴ are called man'i'tu. It is be-⁸²⁵
cause he it is who carries our mother's body.⁴ And the bird is used
there to be eaten. And these feathers of him are ceremonially used
when they sweep clean⁵ the beautiful-pure White Path, our father's, the
Great Spirit's road.⁶ Wherefore a person will appear fine when dress-

¹ This means ceremonially; mention by symbolical references to pay them
respect and to acknowledge their rule in the departments of nature.

² For further details concerning the "pure, clean" creatures see the outline
discussion page 50.

³ Note the use of the same term (ta'xko'xk) for both the creature itself
and the tortoise-rattle. The latter is regarded as being the actual living
creature in its ceremonial guise.

⁴ The Delaware metaphor referring to the earth.

⁵ The term used denotes, "they purify by sweeping clean," meaning to clear⁸²⁵
away latent malefic spiritual forces that might lie in the White Path. This⁷⁸³
symbolically removes possible spiritual pollution from the course of the wor-

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

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³³⁹ k'ai-n onda pa'i'ka'w' e'li awo'n hitci'te'ho'l pe'tama' wa'ni
pona'hole a'iu' ok we'p'ti'a's nahali' wa'ni si'ni'liye' ta'k'ta

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shippers in the Big House, to clear the way for them to proceed, during the ceremony as well as through life, without the impediments of witchcraft and sickness, to the shade of the Creator. The feathers of the "pure, clean" birds possess the power to sweep away spiritual pollution, for which reason they are used by the Delaware, as well as other tribes as ornaments, as fans, and as brushes.

* This is the ceremonial designation of the hard-beaten path around the two fires in the Big House which the dancers traverse. A discussion of this religious concept has been given (p. 28). The reference to cleansing this path bears upon the duty of the Attendants to sweep it clean with the feather brushes or fans.

ing-up for the ceremony, because anyone who earnestly prays in wor-^{539x}
ship to even the deer¹ and the antelope² as well as the bison³ or any ⁵²⁹

¹ The Virginia deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*) designated *axw* in Delaware; related terms occurring for the animal in the Algonkian languages everywhere south of the Great Lakes. North of the Great Lakes where the caribou occurs as a competitive game animal the usual term is applied to it, and the deer acquires the name, *wawa'chee*, or a variant.

² Literally, "white rump," descriptive of the appearance of the rump of the American pronghorn (*Antilocapra americana*) when startled by danger. "Another characteristic of these interesting animals is a conspicuous rump patch composed of white hairs which are longer than those elsewhere on the animal's back. Through developments in the skin muscles the pronghorn at times of excitement has the power to erect these white hairs until they stand out stiffly over the rump, forming a great dashing white rosette, like a giant chrysanthemum, which, when the animal is dashing away across the plains in the bright sunlight, is extraordinarily conspicuous. The writer has many times discovered bands of antelope running on the open plains where but for these heliographic patches they would have been beyond ordinary eyesight. These long rump hairs lie like other hairs on the skin and give little indication of their strikingly conspicuous appearance until the animal suddenly throws them up into action." (R. W. Nelson, U. S. Dept. of Agri. Bull. No. 1346, 1925, quoted by H. R. Anthony, Field Book of N. American Mammals, New York, 1928).

³ The term is, *si-si-ti-ya*. This name has been analyzed to mean, "the animal that butts against and breaks to pieces" (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 132, the form *si-si-ti-ya* being given). (Note, the orthography of the original manuscript is German, hence *j* equals *y*). The animal designated here was originally the Eastern Bison (*Bison b. pennsylvanicus*, (Shoemaker)) becoming extinct in Pennsylvania about 1800 (H. W. Shoemaker, "A Pennsylvania Bison Hunt, Middleburg, Pa., 1915). Col. Shoemaker, who described the sub-species, ascribes to it a larger frame and darker coloration than the Plains Bison, with some white about the nose and eyes, and lacking the hump! (Anthony, op. cit. p. 539). That the Eastern Bison was known to the Delaware of ancient times as far east as New Jersey, although the animal itself did not range east of the Blue Ridge, is evidenced by the occurrence of a cognate term in the Delaware vocabulary (1793) attributed to Thomas Jefferson (Archives of the American Philosophical Society), recorded while the tribe resided in New Jersey:—*si-si-ti-ya*. (See also Account of Gabriel Thomas (1666), in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers, 1912) p. 238.) Brinton, (Lenape and their Legends, p. 229) attempts an etymology of the term, referring the termination *was* to any large quadruped (moose, elk, cow, applied only to deer and elk by Anthony, Brinton's Munsee collaborator. (Lenape Dict. p. 86).

Although the eastern American elk, or *wapiti*, is not mentioned here in our text we learn of its being known to the Delaware under the designation, *lon-i-mus*, "common elk." The actual moose (*Alces americana*) seems only to have been known to the tribe after its migration. Zeisberger (pp. 58-9) devotes several paragraphs to the bison and elk of the Delaware country in Ohio in the last half of the 18th century.

x 539 awa'a te'kwa'yes lo'we'n pi-lai't' man-i'te, ok esu'u'te yu'ki'k' a't'xoni'ea masi'ngak' wikwa'haming naheli'ne'k ma'menda-hi'kanak ok wa'ni' yu'kwit'm' ok me'hama'wu'nang we'mi ke'ko ne'kalkwutek' e'nda ga'mwing lo'we'n kwi'toomukro'wak' e'nda i'ka lala'tamang atoxe'ni'ea pi'tao'pane hukwe'yung e'nda le'lomukuk' na'ku'xona ge'tan'te'wit'.

ok esu'u'te yu'ni a't'pondowa'kan, tam'seha'ng' lo'we'n kwi't- elotowa'kan enda' nateota'siq wa'ni pe'm'tu'nhet' we'mi ha'ng' wi'hila'e yu'li'i oka'e ha'king e'pi-li'tei manito'wa' lowe'hang' "gehala' wani'ei tal' i'ka pe'te'lomukun'en tal' ne'yo'n'en pe'tei wuekakwin yu'ki' mu'xo'msona'nak hi'tku'k' ok naheli' nece' pe'mia'lami' na'kaka'.

yukwe'telte' yu'ni mbi' ok nani' mu'xo'msona' te'nda' lapi' yu'ni ge'oxiq la'pi' yu'ni e'nda wale'nde't' enda naype'lom- end' we'miawe'n tep'i'a' awa'n pou'e'el'endam elki'kwi' wala'g- go'kwu'e't' i'ka'wundji' ko'xona'ning e'li ne'ka tal' we'mi ke'ko gite'lamin'.

yukwetei't' kute'na'ki' man-i'tu e'lowang hukwe'yung tal'e'lomuk ne'tami axkan-i'mand' lowe'neuk gi'ekwen-i't' gi'eux ok pi'aka'woni' pe'pom'e'kat' lowe'su ni'pa' gi'eux ok ge'x- ena'ki' ala'ngo' nani' ne'tami ne'wund' nayawu'nda'kwi' wehen'djio'pang lowe'su ma'xalang'. la'pi' ni'ee' ala'ngak' ta'mae-

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other wild creature whatsoever, that is said to be pure spirit. And also ⁵³⁹
those twelve face-images in the Big House, and those prayer-sticks, ³²⁵
and the maize and fruit, all things indeed used in the Gamwing, it is ⁷⁷⁶
said, are helpers when it comes to lifting up to the twelve levels of
heaven above us where he dwells, our father the Great Spirit.

And also there is a ruling of custom. The religious obligations ⁵³⁹
sometimes require that the speaker, when talking, it is said, names over ⁷⁷⁶
all these spirit-forces wherever they reside around the earth, calling
upon them, as it is said: "Truly we are thankful that we have lived
long enough to see the time come when these our grandfathers the
trees bloom forth, and also the coming up of vegetation."

¹ The twelve peeled rods held in the hands of the worshippers when they
"raise their prayer to the twelfth level of heaven" to the Great Spirit by
crying "ho" six times and "ha" six times, and pointing with the sticks to the
image on the center post of the Big House. They are denoted by the term
mamendahl-'kan'ak "the means of earnest prayer." In Harrington's study of
Delaware religion no mention is made of the exact function of the prayer
sticks (Harrington I, p. 103), though in the Munsee corresponding ceremony
they are described (ibid. p. 131) as being used to drum with in time to the
music, by those who wish to pray. There is another omission in reference to
the prayer sticks (ibid. p. 103). Harrington speaks of a particular way in
which the sticks "fall opposite each other" but no explanation is made. Dis-
cussion of these details will be found on page 69.

² Among the tree "grandfathers" thought of in particular is the maple from
the sap of which native sugar is made.

Reference to the gift of the maple in yielding its sap for human use is a
reminiscence of a widespread Algonkian usage. The Sugar Maple is *asa'med*. ¹²²
"rock-place tree" (the Red Maple is called *asa'kames* "grove tree"). This
tree is the real *Acer saccharum* and is known to the Oklahoma Delaware only
by tradition since they remember it in the north. They make a sugar now ¹²⁷
from the Red Maple, not as strong in flavor as the other, but mixed with Box
Elder (*awi'salt, o'nasa* "yellow twig") and Black walnut *tu'kwil-med*. "round-
nut tree") but the latter has such a strong taste that only a little may be
used. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 194) gives an account of Delaware sugar-mak-
ing during the Ohio period.

Now as well for this water and for him our grandfather fire, and
again this air, again this sunlight. When everyone has been blessed
with such gifts it is enough to make one realize what kind of benevo-
lence comes from our father, because he it is who has created every-
thing."¹

And now furthermore one more spiritual-force is said to be a part ⁵³⁹
of creation up above. The first being mentioned is called day-moon, ³²¹
and the night traveler² is called night-moon. And of several kinds ⁷⁷⁶
of stars, the first one seen is that one from the sunrise direction, called

¹ Zeisberger, before 1780 (op. cit. p. 129), had heard similar professions of
gratitude: "They believe the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed to-
ward them, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain
to fall, and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support."

² The designations "day-moon" and "night-moon" are widespread in north-
ern Algonkian, (Munsee, Cree, Montagnais-Naskapi). Luminary would be a
more exact equivalent of *gi'eux*.

³ For the moon to be figuratively denoted as "night-traveler" is common in
Eastern Algonkian (*ni-bau's-it*: "night-walker," Penobscot, with cognates in
the other Wabanaki languages; nanepauschet, Massachusetts (Trumbull, Natick
Dict. p. 297)).

x539 hang^o nayu^o pe^opa^oxa^okwe^ok topine^o pi^oake^owoni^oi. lowt^oowak
 ne^oki^ok ala^ongok max^ok ok neni^owi^ol opa^ota. yu^okwe lo^owe^on
 elki^okwite^o na^oni ma^oxk^o max^ota^oling^o neni^owi^ol na^oto^o wikwi^oxan^o
 yu^oni o^ondalaui^oegg^o. na^olapi pi^oli lo^owe^on anai^osk^otaya^osak^o
 nicas tyi^oyok^o. na^olapi nayu^oni e^oheli k^osi^oke^onami^oegg^o na^oni
 lo^okwon^ou^oke^os lowe^osu kwe^otei^opon^oea. nawu^ondji yu^ok tako^okik^o
 ala^onguk ok ki^ooo^oxok. ok naholi^o yu^ok pe^ot^oha^okhowe^oyok komu^o
 xo^omasa^oa^onak pe^otei ne^oli^ol kum^oho^oko^o we^omi lowe^on ma^onitu^o.
 wak. nani^o ki^ocu^ox xa^osena to^onda ni^oka^oni^oxi^onan mani^otu
 hukwe^oyung e^oli gacilo^osu. neni^o wole^oxe^oyan^o wu^ondji k^ocete^o.
 kaman we^omi yu e^olama^okan^oik ok na^olon^oani^o to^oli oole^onema^on
 ki^oekwuni^oi ga^ottei na^oni ni^opaiki^ocu^ox ti^ohili oole^onema^on
 pi^oake^owoni^oi. ok ne^oki^ok ala^ongok e^oka^ola^ome^o lak^ohi^okwi mi^o
 kwusi^oxti^o dolki^okwi wittes^ondamen ku^oxona getanto^owit
 mwi^okeos^ouwa^okan.

ee^ola^ohene to^oli wa^otung wa^oni lon^oape to^oli a^olande
 ma^onitu ga^oskane^omen nayko^owi ke^oko ok a^olande nunda^oe
 li a^opi^otaon tei^otanosowa^okan. na^onawu^ondji o^onda awe^on
 pao^otang ke^oko ei^otako awe^oni ha^ote^oto e^oiki^okwi^oxing
 ne^oxpe^olomukuk k^otei^otanosowa^okan
 yukwe^o ge^oxona^oki manito^owak onda^o natei^om^ok^oei^oxtit^o
 wa^oni taxko^oxk lowe^on gacilo^osu e^oli keko^onemen yu^oni gah^o.
 sene o^otohe^opi. nani^o wu^ondji lowe^onha^ong^o kai^oti k^oteu^okwi

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Great Star.¹ Again seven stars, it is said, are sometimes at the noon-point² seen after dark. These stars called the Bear,³ also the head of this one is separate. Now it is said that whenever that Bear shall catch up with his head, then will be the end of the world.⁴ And again another group is called Bunched-up,⁵ seven is their number. And again here in the direction of sun-down, that evening-star is called kwe'tei'-pon-za.⁶ Thenceforth are other stars and moons. And there are also these Thunders, our grandfathers, even coming to those clouds, all called spirit-forces. And the sun, our elder brother, is considered a leading spirit-force up above, because he is a great person. By his breath he warms all the universe, and it is he also who lights up the day-time, and the night-sun. It is he who lights up the night-time. And those stars, in accordance with the strength given them, in proportion that serve and aid our father's, the Great Spirit's labors.

¹ ma'xalagw, "Great Star," a variant is ma'xkalagw, "red star."

² Meaning at the zenith, regarded in Delaware sky-lore as the point halfway between the earth and the summit of the sky dome, as nearly as can be ascertained.

³ The constellation Ursa Major has among the Iroquois, the Cherokee, and also the Algonkian south of the St. Lawrence, the same interpretation, as representing the celestial Bear. North of this dividing line of culture, however, the figure is changed to that of the Fisher (*Mustela pennanti*) or Marten. The explanatory myths are of an entirely different nature in the two areas. The tale in the northern area seems to have a circumpolar distribution in North America from the Athapascans through the Cree to the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula, while the Bear legend of explanation traces to the southward. I have given some attention to this myth in a study of Penobscot tradition. (See also S. Hagar, *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. XIII, No. 40, p. 92; D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, Phila., 1906). (See previous discussion of star beliefs, p. 48).

⁴ This vision of a celestial catastrophe reminds us again of the Delaware belief that when the Tortoise in his westward journey reaches the edge of the earth the world will come to an end.

⁵ The word in the text is sai'-s-kw'taya'-ak, corresponding to Zelig's *anshiaktawewak* which he calls firebrands laid together (op. cit. p. 145). His editor suggests *Cassiopeia*.

⁶ Unfortunately the informant was unable to give a translation for this term.

And so this is what the Delawares understand; namely that some spirit-forces are able to control everything whatsoever, and some are created with less strength. Therefore when a person acquires the strength of a vision of some object or living being, he will obtain it in accordance with the strength imbued in the spiritual power which gives it to him.¹

And now of the several kinds of spirits when they are spoken of, the tortoise is said to be a powerful being because he is able to bear up this our mother's body. That is why it is said he slowly moves, walking

¹ This difficult passage is an example of the resourcefulness of the Delaware language. Two verbs, carry the much involved dominant ideas, *pa'tang ne'-xpe'simu'-kuk*. The former contains the stem *pa'o*, universal in Algonkian, as denoting magical functioning (See Speck, *Penobscot Shamanism*, Mem. Anth. Assn., Vol. VI, No. 2, 1920, pp. 249-54) *pa'tax* being the Delaware for "fetish or charm," a spiritual agency; the second implies the meaning to be "born with power." Lindström (1954-6) (op. cit. 207) discusses the term which he renders *pááhra*.

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axtaho^xwe^e e^{li} nandamen yuⁿⁱ ma^{et}to^e ha^ki. ek we^hende^{panax}iⁿeng wundji a^{le}mu^xweⁿ. loweⁿ e^lki^{kw}its^e i^{ka}'pa^te^e e^{li} wi^kho^ki^e'k^e m^fla^eni takⁱ'ti^t te^ke^t de^lowe^hama^hu^{ten} spe^{ng}weo^{kan}. eu^k'e^{li} ewi^hla^k'e^{ne} pomu^xwe^{yo}'kan na^{ne}k^e wundji kwuⁿamahi^{'ne}n^e na^{ct}a^krendj do^xka^{ga}'n yuⁿⁱ e^{la}ma^k'kami. e^{li} enda ne^{und}e te^kone nayu^e e^{he}li^x'eⁿⁱ keⁿami^e eng^e toⁿ o^kte me^{te}i me^{hi}'kang neⁿi mu^toma^{kan} na^te^e alaha^{te} yuⁿⁱ ha^ki

alo^hde aweⁿ enda^e pa^o'la^e aweⁿ loweⁿ ka^eki haka^{ta}'men enda ahi^xkok^e. aweⁿⁱ wundji e^{kte}eka^{'tan} e^{it}ako^e aweⁿ wundji axge^{'ping}en. ek e^{li}'te^{ha}'te wuni^hilowe^{'to}n na^{lone}'e e^{lowe}wik^e me^{ta}'kan.

yukwe^e ma^tawe^{li}le^eit maⁿitu pa^o'laⁿ wundji ka^eki aweⁿ ma^xtei li haka^{'t}amen ne^e maⁿduwa^{'kan} ma^xtaⁿtu te^{li} ni^hila^{'t}amen lo^weⁿ hang^e me^t'thik^e wani^e po^{'e}te^e teⁱngwe^e e^{it}ako^e kweⁿiekwu^{'naya}'s ek waⁿⁱ xku^{'k} naheli^e

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deliberately, because he carries the whole earth. And he starts out, ^{539^x} beginning walking from the direction of sunrise. It is said that when ⁷⁷⁶ he arrives at the edge of the earth, it will seem like but a short time, ⁷⁷³ namely, for instance we may say like one eye-wink.¹ But because of his slowness of movement afoot; that is why it seems so long before he shall have traversed this world. For, whenever they see him in the wilderness he is going toward the direction of sun-set.² And now it shall be, when he has completed his road, then shall come to end this earth.

¹ Meaning that to man's sense of time it seems like a long epoch, but in reality it forms but an instant when the tortoise shall have performed the journey imposed upon him by the Great Spirit. This is quite an unexpected philosophical allusion to the classical problem of relativity in time.

² The Delawares entertain the notion that all the tortoises seen in the woods are, unless their movements have been temporarily disturbed, headed westward in their journey across the continent imposed upon their race until the day of doom. Here is something for the naturalist to disprove!

Some persons when endowed with shaman power, it is said, can ^{539^x} use it against anyone when they are angry. And that is the cause of ⁷⁵⁴ some persons' disability³ or the cause of persons going blind. And ⁷⁷⁶ he may even decide that he can kill with it. And that is called evil ⁸²⁵ conjuring.⁴

Now the non-beneficent spirit-force has shaman power wherefore a person can employ that Spiritual force for evil purpose. For, it is said by tradition, evil things belong to the Evil Spirit,⁵ the cat, panther, or long-tail⁶ and the snake, and also the lizard⁷ and in-

³ Literally *shkicok's-tan*, "crooked leg," in this case meaning rheumatism or other forms of lameness.

⁴ The non-beneficent practice of conjuring; witchcraft or black-magic which is as much condemned by the natives as by the mediæval Europeans. Algonkian shamanistic accounts are fraught with both phases of the practice. So baneful is the recitation even of this information that *Witapanoxwe* insisted it be kept out of the main body of the text.

⁵ *maxta'nrtw*, "Evil Spirit" has its closest analogy in Wabanaki, *madasha'n-do*, the term being mentioned by Father Heales (1723) in his manuscript dictionary of Abenaki.

⁶ The eastern panther (*Felis cougar*) only recently considered to be extinct in the Pennsylvania mountains, is known in Delaware by the peculiarity of its length of tail *kwe'mi-chwun'ayaw* "long tail." The same descriptive term is applied to the animal by the Wabanaki (*pi-ta'lu*, "long tail"). An interesting mention of panther hunting in Pennsylvania, but erroneously illustrated, is given by Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist in "The Foresters," published in his Portfolio 1812.

⁷ This is a very old term referring to a legendary monster of lizard form, living in trees, running so swiftly as to overtake a man with ease. In early times a portion of its tail was secured by some means, it is related, and kept in possession by some malicious conjurers to work evil to mankind. A portion of the dried tail was scraped and put into the food of the intended victim causing him to die slowly by a wasting malady. The term is most interesting philologically, a variant in Brinton's *Lenape Dictionary* (p. 38) *gagachx* (*ch = x*), evidently a Munsee cognate, in Nanticoke, *oh'kash-kiss*, (Speck, The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, p. 62) and occurring in Wabanaki (*Penobscot*) as *skada'lak*, denoting the salamander in lieu of the lizard which does not occur so far north. A corruption of the word in Penobscot becomes a woman's cry of surprise and fear. The word is evidently a very ancient reptilian designation. I had occasion to observe the application of this word to the

^x539 wa'ni ke'ka'xal-i-a-gwe ok na'xpe-ne mu'xwe'wak' pena'hewani
 xalaxpu'w'is nahali' me'mxeli'ka'tas ok yu'k teo'la'sak wani'
 teu'lo'lh'o'we ok ko'ko's nahali' nenhi'iti-pa'we' kweya'mwis.

yu'kwe e'loweng pi'hit' mi'mas wandji'xan ta'li awe'n
 ke'ko lingwe'hela'n. na'ke lo'mwe wani' mima's pi-laetse'te'hang
 mi'la' hata'p'a ok hita'ndela'n tali' alu'ha'n. ne'ako pet'a'-
 pang mani'ha' tali' ma'et'i'xamwin. me'te'se'nda kal'i'tel lak'-
 hi'k'sit' i'kali de'gone loka'o. yu'kwe'ta kaxta' no'etco'la'se.
 mata' xama'i gandj ke'ko n'hitu'te. ok lokunewi't nahali't
 awe'n kawit taxama'i e'li lo'we'n awe'n mi'mas toma'k-
 ongomwi'te tam'se'a' manito'wak kwu'tamake'lemawa'o e'nda
 pemaska'tit' kiga'la we'mi mi'mas elama'kamik'. e'li nayu'
 wehe'ndjio'pang eitako' hukwe'yung ok ta'mse lowane'yung'
 eitako' ea'wanaki'ke wu'ndji kika'luk manito'wa. na'newundji
 yu'kwe e'lowe'nik' k'tama'kitowa'kan

lo'mawe lowe'ndaeu' ala'pe'ndowa'kanalonde awe'n e'nda
 pa'hit' tota'k'ta' awe'n tali'kwilale'la'ndang nane'wu'ndji ke'ko
 laei'mwin eitako' ke'ko lingwe'helan. nalane'n awe'n no'xpe-
 lomukun wu'ndji ke'ko lape'mku'e'in eitako' wu'ndji nin'pi'.
 ke'n eitako' we'ndji'kane'l.

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eastern Fence Lizard (*Sceloporus undulatus*), at the same time recording the folk-belief from Witapano'xwe that the puny creature is thought by some to be capable of entering the mouth of a person, biting his heart and causing death. 539^x 754 776 825

sects, for example, the spider,¹ and also the scorpion,² and these birds; the screech owl and horned-owl³ and also the chicken-killer,⁴ the red-tailed hawk.⁵

¹ No specific race of arachnid is indicated by this general term, which means something repulsive.

² Literally "big with many legs."

³ Onomatopoeitic names. So the cry of the birds sounds to Delaware ears. Ko'kos in some form is general in eastern Algonkian for the Great Horned Owl (*Bubo virginianus*).

⁴ *Buteo borealis*.

⁵ The above baneful creatures represent the agencies used by evil conjurers. The agent, animal or otherwise, used by the conjuror, is called wani poyolak: "the being whose power I possess and control." This is regarded by the informant as the analogue to the term baohi'gan used commonly throughout the northern Algonkian family as the messenger or agent of the conjuror. (cf. Penobscot Shamanism, F. G. Speck, Mem. Amer. Anth. Assn. Vol. VI, No. 2, 1920) where a summary of pertinent information for the northeast is given.

Now what is called the state of being a clean, pure child is the source of a person acquiring something as his spiritual vision. Anciently there the children, little boys, it is said, were given a bow and taught how to make arrows. Before daylight they obliged him to go in swimming.¹ Now after, when he appears to be older, far off into the wilds he is driven. "Now must you hunt birds!" Food is not eaten until he kills something. And in the evening as well, the person sleeps without being fed, because, it is said, a child lying exposed in a pitiful state would cause some occasional spirit-force to have pity on him when passing by visiting all the children in the world. Because here from the sunrise direction, or from up above and sometimes from the northern direction or the south, are the directions whence they are visited by spirit-forces. On account of this it is called pitiful abuse. 539^x 861 787

Long ago it was called correction. Some persons when sick in any way, persons in perplexity and distress, would accordingly experience a dream-vision of something, or some would acquire a revelation vision.

It is that which one is blessed, whence one becomes useful² or becomes a healer or the reciter of a vision in the Big House.

¹ This drastic custom intended not only to harden but to purify youths. The immersion daily in pure running water is part of the ceremonial bringing-up reported in a number of eastern peoples besides the Delawares.

² Here we meet with an important religious phenomena,—ritual abuse to secure a more intense spiritual blessing. The concept has been discussed in the beginning of the study.

³ Meaning that one who has obtained a spiritual blessing or inspiration is under moral obligation by Delaware ethical standards to devote his gift toward the alleviation of human misery, by healing the sick, by setting the example of purity and unselfishness to others.

x 539 naos naxenaxkat' awe'n e'li mi'ikwu'it' to'li la'pam-
kwu'sin ci'taks' metei'nu ok awe'n gaski i'la'o nalene'
e'lowe'sik ga'ci'lasowa'kan.

II

FIRST NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY
OPENING SPEECH BY MASTER-OF-CEREMONIES

Lowe'hang' nan-i' e'ha'ket' enda'temike't' xingwika'on-ing
onda' pa'sukwit' pmato'nhe' lowe' "gehela' wani'ei e'lange'ndi-
eng". ga'hone ci'ki' tali' ikape'telamu'nen' enda' neux'ti'eng'
tali' wo'lamalai'nen'. gehela' wa'niet' to'li ogo'malen' ni'ma-
to'stuk daykwe'motuk ok ene'k ee' tami'masmona'nak. kan-
a'nxpango'menen' we'mi enxa'oga'tok' wola'ngosowa'kan. gehela'-
metei'gai' nda'hi nunde'ka'ku'n' e'nda' ayale'ponge'ya. ke'tomak-
awe'niya ge'hel'aha'ng'. a'hi su'kan hons'e landamowa'kan e'nda'
ne'ma ki'gaxtinge' e'ki'kwi' metei' k'toma'ka' yu'ni' e'ndalausi-
eng'. eu'k' ia'p'teikata'iti' ni'mato'stuk ndaxkwe'motuk pe'tei
ne'k ee' tami'masmona'nak. ka'tate' we'miawe'n pona'elo'ndam
kitci'tehe'i' enda' ika'langome'ng' na'ni ko'xon'a ge'tan'to'-
wit' pe'tei' ki'celemu'kong'. ga'hone hwas'ka k'toma'ke'le'n-
damowakan e'nda' pona'meng' k'taki't' wenda'u'aieng' e'ki-
ha'ng'. lo'mowe' ili'ta' go'xi' gaxto'n' we'mi hang' yu'ni' komen-
da'wunona'nin' wunu'ndje'li'xi'non' e'langome'ngwi'ng'. ga'hone
k'toma'ke'landamuwa'kan e'nda' ne'meng' yu'kwe' metei' e'ki-
kwi' ci'kalangwepi'xtit' e'lango'meng'. tepia' awe'n wu'ndji-
pona'elo'ndam. ni'xpon'a tak'o' di'tite'ha'it' texia'ta' ika'li'tei
beta'u'ai' to'li ai'xo'li' lehele'xen' ndoli' nayu'ni' o'won'dango-
'sin' wehe'ndango'i'xi'fi' ki'kayo'yoma'ni'nga we'hwal-i' ke'nam-

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These are the three ways in which a person is endowed that he be-^{539^x}
comes useful, or a magician.¹ And a person can become a warleader;⁷⁸⁷
that also is called greatness.⁵⁵⁴

¹ The term *mate'inu* in Delaware signifying "shaman" introduces a term recognised throughout the Algonkian range with identical force.

II

FIRST NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

The Master of Ceremony¹ says when he goes into² the Big House,^{539^x}
when rising to his feet, he speaks saying, "Truly I am thankful, my ⁷⁹⁶
kindred. It is exceedingly good that we have lived on through to
see each other, that we are in good health. I am truly thankful to
bring forth³ the blessing, my brothers and sisters and those there, our
children. I bless you all with every kind of blessing. Truly it is
unbecoming to me because I feel incompetent when instructing you
what to do. Pitiful am I, indeed, as it is said. It rests very heavily
upon my mind when I see each year how at present this our way
of living has become pitiful. But nevertheless we must all try, my
brothers and sisters and also even those children. Let everyone use his
mind earnestly when we lift up our prayer of appeal to that one, our
father, the Great Spirit and Our Creator. Indeed it is with great sad-
ness of mind that we look back and see the past of our cultural-life
as it is said to have been. Formerly, but a few years ago, it is said,
here the seating space in the Big House⁴ was overcrowded with our
now deceased relations. Indeed it brings sadness of mind when we see
here now how few of our relatives are seated around that space. It is
enough to make anyone ponder over the cause of it. I myself never
did think that I would live long enough, as a survivor, living as I am
right here, instructing in sacred things where other sacred-teachers,
our deceased ancestors,⁵ so thoroughly inspired in worship, taught.

¹ A proper name in the ceremonial sense, *elha'k-ete*

² By this figure the formal opening of the ceremony is denoted, *tam'i'ke*,
"to go in."

³ The Master of Ceremony is regarded as the sponsor for all the blessings
that result from the performance not only to the participants themselves, and
to the tribe, but to the whole of mankind.

⁴ He refers to the covering of straw laid around inside the walls of the
Big House where the participants are sitting. No chairs or benches are per-
mitted here. They are not of the ancient days.

⁵ How little the Delawares have changed in their mental attitude since
1742 is shown by comparison of the above reverential discourse with a declara-
tion made by the missionary David Brainerd who labored, and finally suc-
cumbed to the effort, to swerve the same tribe from loyalty toward the
beliefs of their ancestors. His lament was that they were so much attached
"to the traditions and fabulous notions of their fathers, which they firmly
believe, and thence look upon their ancestors to have been the best of men."
(Life and Journal of the Rev. David Brainerd, pp. 397-425 (Edinburgh 1820)
quoted by Brinton op. cit., p. 137).

x 539 wi'teik. nta-li aya'ndama'n we'miawe'n witoondamen eu'k' iyap'tei we'miawe'n me'tega'te' kitel'te'he'i ma'mendowe'te ta'mse'a'nen katama'kasta'kona'nak ne'kik' man'ito'wak ko. namhiti't' ke'namuwa'kan. ok naye'kwe pe'tei lak'xi'yeng xo' loni'ti' k'ta'lomi ki'konaku'ne'n ne'kik' muxo'mson'a'nak kwe'tekwen-amhi'ti't' yu'ni pa'tamweo'kan.

yukwe' o'nda pa'tamang' yuki'k' pole'ok tali' tomi'kaxto. ne'yo' wani' ki'kayo'yamena' ok sa'ki'ma'yame'na'. ko'kwel-epo'xwe' tali' tomi'ken.

o'nda a'lomikane'it' wa'ni te'mi'ke'ti' we'mike'ko ki'candja' kat'. naye' we'ndjinyke'i le'la'uhuk' t'peekwi' ne'ni'pait' wa'ni ni'pas'ei wehe'ndango'e'i't' wa'ni te'mi'ke'ti'. nan-ewu'ndji'xan li' wendji'kane'in. yu'kik' muxo'mson'a'nak taxko'xak lowi'hil-a'ok e'uxuni'kanak. o'nda' i'kape'tuxwe'ti't' le'maxta'pit' ok nan'i e'lhika'e'it' e'uhi'xilala' wa'ni ni'kani'xing e'uxuni'kan ok na'ni we'tega'e'it' nayku'tam.

nate' yuki'k' tale'kac'k' naye'n po'kama'ne'yo' ne'li' po'xeni'kana. hi'tami wa'ni ni'ka'ni'xing' ku'ten' po'kama'n' nala'pi' wa'ni weux-te'ngase'wit' na'lapi' wa'ni ni'kani'xing. nape'a'han-en te'lowe'n wa'ni ge'tawe'ndjika'ne'it' "yu'ta' ka'ke'na'mwini" na'we'ni ki'k-owile'nu nayko'tam-uk lowe'yok "ha'u ghe'ta ei'ki' ni'ma'ta."

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So I pray that everyone help. If accordingly everyone does all in ^{539^x} his power, earnestly praying with all his heart, it might occasion those ⁷⁹⁶ spirit-forces to hear our pitiful appeal, those who carry the power of ^[781] blessing. And right here this evening in a little while we shall begin to feel ourselves being touched by our grandfathers³ who move this our prayer-worship.

³ The various man-its or spirit-forces of nature, some of which have been previously mentioned by the narrator. The spirits dwelling in the turtle-shells are one of the manifestations of the Great Spirit, who function in this reference as the spirits whose duty it is to "start moving" the ceremony. The "touch" here means the "spirit of control" or the force that keeps the worship alive. ^[776]

And now when worshipping, these Turkey-group people,¹ because they enter the Big House with the ceremony, that group is our old man² and our chief. He-Walks-Turning-Around-Slowly³ is the one who brings in the ceremony.

When the Enterer begins the ceremony everything is prepared. Here at the middle of the right hand side, directly opposite where the stud-post stands, right here he conducts the worship—the Enterer. From this place is where they perform the vision recitations. These turtle-rattles are called our grandfathers. When they reach the place where the Master of Ceremonies sits,⁴ he shakes the rattle, the leading rattle, and the follower answers him.⁵

¹ It is assumed in the text by the narrator that the Turkey, or Fowl division of the tribe is assuming the obligation to "enter the Big House bringing" meaning to sponsor the ceremony.

² The simile here denotes that the Turkey division has seniority over the other two so far as the period of the ceremony is concerned.

³ The performance is to be recited as though it were being conducted by the present chief of the tribe, Charles Elkhair who has held the office since 1808, whose Delaware name is Kockwal-spo'xwe denoting someone who is walking along slowly then turns around in the opposite direction. The same chief was the host to the ceremony described by Harrington in 1912 (Harrington I, pp. 85-7). The informant planned the text to follow Elkhair's manner of conducting it because he had participated in it frequently under him and had a clearer recollection of his addresses and details of management.

⁴ This statement brings to mind the important and oft-repeated reference to the Tortoise in his transit of the world as "carrying the ceremony." The rattles, made of the animals shells, we are told, are following the same allegorical course from east to west.

⁵ The dance leader uses a somewhat smaller tortoise shell than the "following," hence the designation leading rattle, as though the rattle itself were an active agency.

Then these "cranes," or drummers,¹ beat three times the drum. First the dance leader strikes the drum once, and then the follower-singer, and the leader again. And then also he will say, he who is about to recite his vision and dance, "I now must worship!" And all the old men answer. They say, "Hau! Indeed it is truly fine, my brother!"

¹ For some reason a simile has developed here by which the two men who attended to the drumming accompaniment are likened to Sandhill Cranes. ^[136]

Recitation of Vision by Ko'kwolopo'xwe

* 539 yu'ta lka'ndala'teimwin ka'al'a'ip'u e'ndalami'ma'is'ne.
 e'nda na'ka nu'xo wi'ka'utci li'te' me'tei'ta' wi'kwa'usu'wa
 k'xi'som'o'su' gehe'lahwu'ska nda'hi'ka'ko li'la'e'm-uk' naka'
 nki'kayo'yema. e'li ci'e'le'ndamon no'xi'som-ee' e'li di'hili'te'
 ha'homb' xu'ta' i'kali'tei lak'hi'kwi "bi'pa'pi'ma wa'ni nayi'-
 som-ee. gehe'lahwu'ska nda'hi' su'k'hika'kwun'. ma'tanewa'to'n
 ngwi'lale'le'ndam. nane'newu'ndji a'yale'm'ska'n na'yu'wu'nda-
 'kwi' co'kwi'ke. bopa'm'ska'n ma'tanema'tamo'n tali a'lemi'
 pi'aka'namin. ok' ahal-owi'l nda'hi' suk'hika'kwun' pena'en-
 damowa'kan gehela' me'tei'ga'i gwi'lale'le'ndam wi'ka'ntei na'
 gie'te'ha'n ndeli'te' tota'ci'gante e'li'nama. na'yu' e'ka'skwe
 doli' wala'm'hikala'mwin. ma'tana'kge'i na' nda'lemi'tama'ndamon
 li'etoma' ahale'm'pehele'yo ci'e'le'ndamowa'kan. ma'mi' ma'laci-
 mata'ngawi't e'li "di'te'ha' kwona'eta nayu'ni de'ndala'ngolen
 ako'k'ta'k me'tei no'xi'somsi'i'i. ma'tanake'i nambe'ndamon
 ke'ko nayu'ta pe'xutci ma'te'xen. matanama'tamo'n nde'i'i

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Recitation of Vision by Ko'kwel-spo'xwe

"I must now come to the point of relating my narrative about Kaw^{539x} River¹ when I was but a child. When my now deceased father told⁷⁹⁶ me, "Now, indeed, for your younger brother life is ended," my de⁷⁸⁷funct parent was exceedingly grieved over the thing. How sorry I was about my younger brother, because I used to think that sometime later when he grew up it would happen that I could play with that one my younger brother. Truly indeed, my meditations grew very heavy upon my mind. I did not know what to do for solace. Whereupon I wandered away, towards the edge of the timber. In my wandering I did not know that it was coming on night, while more and more was my grief weighing upon my mind. Truly, in my realization of helplessness, seeking for solace, I suddenly made up my mind then and there that whatever might become of me let it come. There under a tree I slowly sank and fell.² In a short time I began to feel that my miseries of mind had begun to flow out. It seemed not as though I were asleep because I thought it would make no difference if I should die right there, for my younger brother was now no more. It was not long before I heard something come to the ground close at hand. I

(*Grus mexicana*) or the Whooping Crane (*G. americana*) those now almost extinct birds whose wings in colonial times darkened the skies of Pennsylvania. "Cranes came hither along the Delaware by hundreds in the Spring (1700), but at present (1748) there are very few. . . . Certain old Swedes told me that, in their younger years, as the country was not yet much cultivated, an incredible number of cranes were here every Spring," wrote Peter Kalm (Travels in North America, 1770, Vol. I, p. 200), the Swedish naturalist who visited the Delaware valley in the middle of the 18th century (see C. C. Abbot, A Naturalist's Rambles About Home, (1894), p. 230; and E. H. Forbush, "A History of Game Birds, Wild Fowl, and Shore Birds (1912), p. 478).

The birds are also mentioned for Pennsylvania by Gabriel Thomas (1634), (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 48). The cranes had disappeared from Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey by 1680 (W. P. Turabull, Birds of Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, (1890), p. 49). What the basis of resemblance was in the minds of the ancients, to have caused this resemblance to be featured between the drummers and cranes seems to be beyond our means of learning although the Delawareans trace it to the peculiar cry the drummers utter when they terminate each dance round. We shall also hear more of them as the ceremony proceeds, for they play parts of considerable responsibility, being obliged for one thing, to repeat whatever is chanted by the dance-leader when he pauses in his song, during his vision recitation, to dance while the "cranes" echo his verses. They also have certain privileges in the use of face paint.

¹ ka'si-as is the proper name in Delaware for the Kansa, or Kaw, tribe of the southern Siouan group, from which Kaw river derives its name. This is the scene of the reciter's vision, who is assumed to be, as previously noted, Chief Elkhafr.

² A reverential way of referring to the death of a kinsman. If an animal were so referred to, the term a'ngel-as "he is dead" is used. Still another paraphrase for decess is a-mata-xp'il-yo "he who no longer remains here."

³ This term has a religious sense, the ordinary verb being nace'ggi-xi, "I lie down."

537 *toma^a puka^a m^a wip^a ha^a tu^a ika e^a l^a ngwehela^a ne lo^a wane^a yung^a.
 mataga^a ko ne^a mo^a wi^a ke^a tomakawe^a niya wala^a haxa^a ne^a no^a li-
 pe^a ndao naniawe^a n naya^a ce^a i^a t^a pe^a ma^a ta^a e^a k^a. do^a li pe^a ndawen
 lowe^a xon^a "gate^a li^a t^a e^a ha^a hen ako^a ta ke^a ko do^a le^a lo^a muk^a i^a ni^a tan-
 djo^a." naya^a li hapa^a m^a ka^a n. gehela^a ndahi^a ke^a kol^a lae^a muk^a
 naniawe^a n ikaelin^a gwawehela^a ne^a. nane^a yon pe^a ma^a me^a t^a do^a li^a nao
 ma^a mi^a et^a naya^a ni lo^a wane^a wung wu^a ndji^a x^a non ala^a eia^a ma^a xgi-
 na^a k^a su. ok lo^a we^a "te^a ka^a n^a djo weli^a ke^a na^a xgi^a tu k^a pe^a nala^a ce^a la^a.
 honen ndi^a hilen^a e^a men naya^a n aya^a pa^a mu^a xwe^a ya^a ne." e^a hela^a k^a.
 hik^a wi^a t^a taki^a x^a n low^a ta^a k^a su! e^a nda taki^a x^a ng tom^a + tom^a +
 yuk tale^a ka^a k^a na^a x^a n^a pe^a kama^a ne^a yo ne^a li^a pu^a xon^a kana ok
 na^a xku^a tom^a k^a e^a nda lo^a we^a ng ni^a con^a an^a hu^a kwi tom tom. ma^a t^a-
 ama^a xti^a ti^a gacina^a k^a su naniawe^a n
 endado^a le^a lama^a enda^a pa^a wa^a ok ika^a t^a e^a lae^a wana^a ki^a ke^a k^a ta^a li
 ma^a te^a x^a i^a non. ok li^a ta^a k^a su e^a xan k^a taki^a x^a ng naniawe^a n li^a ta^a.
 k^a so^a xon^a a^a n e^a o^a + o^a +. ok lo^a we^a enda^a ika^a ma^a xte^a x^a ng e^a la^a hanen
 ndi^a hilen^a e^a men naya^a ni aya^a pa^a mung^a o^a si^a a^a ne e^a li^a lo^a we^a ok li-
 ta^a k^a su naniawe^a n lowe^a xon^a a^a n enda^a ma^a xte^a x^a ng.

[Song A. First time]

e^a lami^a le^a hwi^a [repeat]

kwe^a namo^a wi^a

ga^a me^a na^a hwi^a

wa^a ni le^a na^a

pe^a wi^a ta^a ne

to^a xe^a t^a

a^a yelo^a ma

ka^a mi^a na^a hwi^a

kwe^a he^a ye^a

ya^a hwi^a

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did not know it, but I had begun to rise up half-way attempting to look toward it in the north. 539^x
796
787

Pitiful me, I saw nothing although I could well hear the person right over the ridge. As I listened he said, "Do not think that no thing cares for you, my friend!" Then and there I walked about. Indeed truly the thing overcame me with surprise, that person, when I came to the point of looking toward him. When I saw his form it seemed as though there in the direction of north, it lay extended like the appearance of red. And he said, "My friend, observe me carefully! Look at me, how I do when I walk about in this place!" Every little while he would start running. When he started running he sounded like tam+, tam+!" [Here the cranes beat the drum three times with the drum sticks, and they respond when he speaks in succession, tam+, tam+]. "Not small but great he looked, did that person.

When I thought it over, when I looked at it way over there, at the edge of the southern land¹ did it come to ground. And it sounded so, every time that creature started running, it sounded every time like o o+ o o+!" And he said when he landed there, "And that besides is what I do here, when I pass by bestowing my spiritual blessing." For he spoke and he sounded like, that person, speaking when he alighted.²

'Going by fanning the air, glory of him, the worship of man, all over the earth, glory of him. Cease,³ ya hwi!"

¹ Denoting the horizon where the earth island meets the surrounding water.

² At this point the "cranes" (drummers) strike the deer-hide drum rapidly.

[823]

³ This is a set form in the ritual recitation when the reciter of visions is about to quote the man-i'tu. As he commences dancing he changes to motion of the rattle from a sideways to an up-and-down vigorous stroke, keeping it up while he is dancing and the drummers accompany him. The performer holds the rattle in his right hand before his body at waist-level, the head of the shell to the left, the tail to the right.

⁴ Addressed to the drummers.

⁵ Conceived by the visionary almost with the rapture of the Psalmist, the spiritual presence of the "red-appearing" man-i'tu is chanted. The sonorous swish-swish of the pebbles inside the dry tortoise shell rattle adds a peculiar dramatic quality to the recitation.

As to the text of the chant, the words are warped from their ordinary form into a lyric measure in conformity with the usual pattern of such compositions. It might be rendered in the following roughly corresponding lines of free-verse for those who will accept an approximate transfer of meter from one language to another so far from it in grammatical form.

Wind of spirit
Rushing by me,
Magic Power
Gives me vision,
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Supplication
Of the people,
Universal
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Cease!
Yahwi-t.

[838]

kwí. wa'ni xan^o naya'ta wunda'kwí lowane'yo dali'pe'n-
daon. naniawe'n e'lok'hik'wí k'taki'xín. ge'he'ta ahalowí
ke'ko deli'las'muk naniawe'n nenie'luwe't lowe'xana'n enda.
k'taki'xing.

[Song A. Second time]

kwí gabe'ne waní'ci elangu'ndiong no'le'landam talí' l'kape'tel
e'lamaki'nen to'li' na'ny'pangomaten we'mi enxe'a'ga'tek la'g-
go'neowa'tan ok naheli' we'mi ne'k moxo'mson'a'nak. ok
laha'pe kungo'ma'mana'nak ne'kik tale'ka's a'spale'tama'xi'ti
wa'ni lona'pe kwe'namuwa'tan. wa'ni xan^o nan'e'ile'we't
lowe'xana'n enxe'a' takí'xing

[Song A. Third time]

aha'lawi'no'li' ne'yo naniawe'n. dale'loma' i'kase't lowane'yan
to'ndale'lonau'kun ok deli'nan enda ne'yo pe'mi'hi'ta maxxi'l
nak'su. naxa'n'ne'ne'n ilo'we't naniawe'n lowe'xana'n

[Song A. Fourth time]

kwí. ge'he'ta me'tei'gai nunde'ka'kun elangu'ndiong euk' wia'-
p'tel ge'ekile'e'in k'izite'he' ke'tomakawe'ni e'linane'ndite'han
e'nda pe'ndao na'nawe'n e'lowe't "tekan'djo' we'lipona'i." e'li-
owe' "ne'pota' naya'ni "bi'hapa' mungo'ndamen." li'ta'kot
ndaktaki'xing

[Song A. Fifth time]

kwí. yu'he'angu'ndiong no'le'le'ndam nde'limaci'kam'en yu'ni
we'lipale'xi' ku'xana mu'toma'kan. ok me'tei naya' t'pa-
kwí' pa'ne'n neheni'pait moxo'msa'na. ok ha'ng e'omute'
pi'ponda'wona'nak ki'kayo'yomona'n'inga' weh'weli' ke'na'm.
wi'tit. lowe'yok ha'ng e'ne t'xo'n ko'kan'ka'nen n'ipait
wa'ni moxo'msa'na. yu'xge'pe'na wu'ndamu'tam newundj x'n

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[Stop]¹ That being there in the direction of the north, there I ^{539^x}
 heard him. That Person every so often started running. Indeed more ⁷⁹⁶
 and more at the thing I became oppressed about what that Person ⁷⁸⁷
 said. And he says when he started running [Stop].

[The reciter repeats the chant as before while he dances around the circuit to the next station, fig. 12, to the accompaniment of the drumming.]

Truly thankful, my kindred, I am very glad that we have lived so far in good health and that I can bestow all kinds of spiritual blessings, even including all those of our grandfathers. And before long we shall shake hands with these "cranes" who are lifting up the Delaware worship. That Being was speaking, saying every time that he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the third time.]²

More and more clearly could I see that Person. I took it to be far away toward the north where it originated and it seemed, as I saw it going by, to be reddish in appearance. And he continued speaking, that Person, saying³

[The drummers repeat the chant, while the Reciter dances a certain distance, then says kwi "stop," and pauses (at G on diagram (fig. 12)).]

Truly it is unbecoming for me so weak, my kindred, but I shall nevertheless do as well as I can and with all my heart, pitiful me! for that is what I thought when I heard that Person saying, "My friend look at me carefully." Because he said, "I also bring blessings when I come here!" So it sounded when he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the fifth time].

Now, my kindred, I am very glad that I have reached this pure, clean White Path, and our Father's Road. And now here opposite we have come where our Grandfathers are standing.⁴ And, as it is said, also we have heard how our deceased ancestors so carefully performed the rite. It is said that they called forth how many times to dance around the place where our Grandfather stands.⁵ Let us, too, state

¹ This exclamation which I place within brackets wherever it occurs, is a command to the drummers to cease. Kikhair is now supposed to be standing at one of the stopping places in the dance circuit, or Great White Path, reciting his part. (fig. 12, a to g).

² The drummers.

³ Here the Reciter stops almost in front of the drummers facing them and shakes hands with them. All those who are dancing behind him both men and women come up and also shake hands with the drummers, then resume their places behind the leader.

⁴ The vague description of the Person (man-it'u) seen by the visionary leaves its form and character to be imagined by the hearers. The informant for his part took it to mean to him a panther, which would, he thought, be a reasonable inference based upon the allusions by the Reciter. The latter does not like to betray in precise terms the identity of his guardian spirit. [76]

⁵ Referring to the center post with the two large carved images, before which he has now taken his stand (see diagram fig. 12, b).

⁶ Meaning also the center post.

539 nate' talaha'pa' po'ni-ma'nen naniawe'n ma'ta xana'ne'. ayo'ma
ikali'tei pe'tel e'lamalsi'a'ne pi'pi'poni-ma'i'wena naniawe'n
nani'e'lowet' e'li lo'we'xan-a'n'.

[Song A. Sixth time]

kwi'. gehe'ta elangu'ndieng' kta'hi k'tami-'nak'ho'mena e'n-da mi'l-
kwusieng' na'n-he'li pi'lat' ae'wes ne'ypale'tama'eng wu'ndji
we'mi wale'lend-damene'n on-da na'n-iko'xona ke'tan'to'wit'
wi'm'bene'm'kweng. euk' ia'p'tei ke'tamak'awe'nieng na'nek-
wu'ndji: nayu'tali ma'kitak'ni'ne'n ko'xona mwenda'weniq.
wa'ni xane'nane' ilo'wet' lowe'xanan.

[Song A. Seventh time]

me'tei e'langu'ndieng ku'ten ko'kahela'ne'n wa'ni moxo'm-
so'na moe'ng'. gehola' wani'ei teli' pe'tei ge'naxki'go'ne'n
ek teli' wo'lamalsi'ne'n naheli' ne'k'ik' tami'masomona'nak.
yu' ongo'ma'tam' moxo'mso'na. ni'cen k'ta'spale'tama'ne'n
ho+, ho+.

[Song A. Eighth time]

kwi'. ek elapi' ni-ma'to'stuk ek ndaxkwe'mat-u'k' petei' tami-ma'stuk'
teli' me'tei nayu'ni pe'tika'ne'n ni'pait' wa'ni kemoxo'msona
taxki'k' we'mi a'taxeni'ca xi'yok ne'k'ik' moxo'msona'nak na-
wu'ndji: e'kala'mi we'mi mani'tu pen-a' moxo'msona ts'ndai'
ek na'gahe'sona m'bi' ek we'mi ne'pauai'tayong me'ni'teing.

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how many times, namely four times. And then we shall never cease^{539x} talking again about that Person. If only it would be that I have good⁷⁹⁶ health in the future we⁷⁸⁷ would never stop talking about that Person, who spoke, as he said.¹

[Repeat chant for the sixth time.]²

Truly indeed my kindred we are enjoying very good fortune when we are given an abundance³ of pure clean game animals as our spiritual food-offering,⁴ as a result of which all shall become happy and contented in mind, when he our Father the Great Spirit has taken pity on us for our devotion.⁵ But nevertheless we are pitiful, that is why here at this place we are heard sadly pleading in our Father's House.⁶

That Being continued speaking, saying:⁷

[Repeat the chant for the seventh time.]⁸

Now my kindred, we have gone around him, our Grandfather's carved-face. Truly thankful, because even he has taken care of us until now and because we are in good health, including these our children. Now give reverence⁹ to our Grandfather. Twice we shall lift up our appeal' ho+ ho+!¹⁰

[Repeat the chant for the eighth time.]¹¹

And again, my brothers and sisters and also ye children, we have come dancing here to where stand those our Grandfathers, twelve in number all together our Grandfathers,¹² because from here on all the spirit-forces are alike, our grandfather Fire, and that one our mother Water, and all those who support our life with food. It is enough, my

¹ He raises his hand touching the carved face, and says ho+ ho+, and all who are with him either do the same with their hands or the prayer sticks that they carry.

² The inspired Reciter is now standing directly in front of the center post facing the carved image that faces toward the east.

³ An ancient term, the modern is *rahe'li* "plenty."

⁴ The term used here, *noxpale'tam* has a meaning difficult to render, an offering made by the people all together to induce spiritual force.

⁵ *wi-mbone'm'ka'nos*, having the meaning, he has pity on us and shows his love and mercy for our act of worship.

⁶ *mwenda'swon* a long house used exclusively for the purpose of religious worship (cp. *Penobscot kwunda'swon*).

⁷ This formality is never omitted nor altered in ending the paragraphs of the address. Some speakers terminate with *tam+ tam+* denoting the sound heard when the man's foot struck the ground on the horizon. In the case of one reciter, his guardian spirit having assumed the form of a duck, he uttered *kwak kwak*, and declared that the echo reached the edge of the horizon.

⁸ The Reciter is now facing the other carved image on the center post.

⁹ *aggo'mastam* the term discussed before.

¹⁰ This is the prayer-cry for which the Delawareans were known two centuries ago. The speaker now touches the eastern carved face on the center post with his left hand (the rattle is in his right hand), and those standing about him, who were following him around the dancing path in his dance, raise their right hands or the prayer sticks if they have them and give the prayer-cry as he does.

¹¹ The Reciter now leads his followers around the center post again in a circle, stopping before the eastern carved image as he did before. *Kwi* "stop," he says to the dancers and drummers, and resumes his sermon.

¹² He is indicating the twelve carved images in the Big House.

^x539 tepia^a elangu'ndieng kwu'ndji wela'tenami'ne'n o'nda mi'kwe'ng
we'mike'ho pe'kic'king we'mi tanen-i' ko'xona ke'tan'io'
wit' tolli'xtun. wu'ndji ge'eki nen-ili'nameng.

ok deli'nau na'ni'awe'n nayu'ni e'li o'wanaki'ke'k deli'nau
o'xan-an we'miet' ke'ko tepe'lamuk. ok li-ta'k'wa onda ktaki'xog
ho+ ho+

[Song A. Ninth time]

ge'hela elangu'ndieng te'ek'u'tan akan' xka'ne'n ni'pai't' wa'ni
moxo'ma'na. ok nayu'kwe me'ken-i'alla'k' o'nda e'kahela'eng.
na'te we'miawe'n ataxeni'oon' taspale'tama'ne'n bukwe'yung
wendijjal'k' ne'ni' kwe'namowa'kan wa'ni lona'pe ataxen-i'ea
xan' pitao'pane onda lo'lo'mu'kak o'xona ge'tanto'wit'.

ok nane ilo'wet' naniawe'n lo'we'xonan'

[Song A. Tenth time]

ge'hela wani'ei elangu'ndieng me'tei nayu' k'pa'ne'n ni'pai't'
wa'ni komuxo'ma'na. me'teia'ne i'ka tala'ngosi'nen. te'len ok
ni'ea xan' taspale'tama'nen e'pit' nani' nehela'lkwe'ng' ke'.
tan'io'wit' pe'tei kic'e'lamu'kong.

ge'hela wa'nici tolli' engo'malen nima'te's-tuk ok nto'xkw'
ma'tuk' ok ne'k' ee' tami'masomona'nak'. wan'ei tolli' na'ny
pango'malen we'mi e'nyen-auga'tok' wela'ngosowa'kan'. ge'hela
me'tei'gai nda'hi ha'ng' su'k'hikakwun nde'hing' onda ne'ma'
te'li me'tei ci'kwine'nen. kwi'n pi'pondao'nen kika'yo'ma'na'.

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kindred, to cause us happiness of mind when we are given all the things ^{539x} that grow and all which our Father the Great Spirit has so well pro- ⁷¹⁶vided. That is why it is possible for us to see this fulfilled.

And it seemed to me that that Person right there at the edge of the south-land seemed to me to possess power over all things. And it sounded so when he started running. ho+ ho+!

[Repeat the chant for the ninth time.]

Truly indeed, my kindred, once more besides we dance around where he stands, he our Grandfather. And this will be the last time when we shall go around. And then also will everyone twelve times lift up the prayer-worship, up above where belong these adorations⁶ of the people⁴ to the twelfth level of the sky where dwells our Father, the Great Spirit. ^[772]

And thus speaking that Person said:

[Repeat the chant for the tenth time.]

Truly thankful, my kindred, now here we have come to where he our Grandfather stands.⁶ Now the time has come for us to offer up our adoration, to lift up our prayer ten and two times to where dwells he who owns us,⁷ the Great Spirit even our Creator.⁸

I am truly thankful that I bring the address of blessing, my brothers, my sisters, and these our children. I give thanks that I bring blessing, all and every kind of spiritual blessings. Truly I am very feeble myself, as it is said, it oppresses my heart when I see how now we are orphans.⁹ Many times we have heard from our deceased an-

¹ When giving the prayer-call now, he touches the carved image as before.

² He leads the dancers around the post again to the other image, fulfilling his command to encircle the post twice.

³ The term kwonamowa'tan occurs here but I have given it another meaning to accord with the context.

⁴ The text here might read as well, the Delaware, for, as we have learned, the tribe addresses itself as lon-a-pe, "common people" as a proper name.

⁵ He is now back again before the western-facing carved image.

⁶ Meaning that the worshippers have figuratively mounted to the presence of the Great Spirit in his twelfth heaven.

⁷ The conception of the Great Spirit as the owner of men, comes out similarly in Wabanaki (F. G. Speck, "Wabanaki Myths" 43rd Annual Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnology, 1928, p. 360).

⁸ At this point the leader touches the carved face on the center-post and all hold up their hands. Everybody in the Big House stands up (except those too old, deformed, or nursing children), saying ho+ six times, everybody holding up the right hand, and ho+ six times. Then the drummers follow; the leading drummer hits one, second drummer one, the leading drummer the final blow on the hide-drum. This is the signal for all to sit down.

The leader now faces west, with his back to the main-gate on the center post and directly under it. He shakes hands with his "followers" first, then with all who were in the line. Then each one goes to his respective place to be seated, observing the rule of going to the north and south sides of the Big House. They must pass westward around the two fires, following the White Path over which they have danced.

When all have seated themselves in their proper places, the Attendants put extra wood on the fires to light up the Big House. The speaker again declares to the honor of the Creator.

⁹ Referring to their bereavement through the generations of deceased ancestors.

557 ningsa e'iki-kwi ha'ng' toma'k'hita'k-wi'xtit' e'nda we'ta'kenu'-
ting e'iki-kwi k'toma'ki lo'k' ne'ke lak'hi-kwi nda'hi ha'ng'.
hwa'e'ka ci'las'ma' ha'kal e'langundieng' e'nda ne'ma' h'teng
e'lo'ku'p'. ne'kecu'k' ge'hela ia'p'tei kata'ti we'miawe'n
wito'ndam'o'tam pita'ta toma'k'set'akingwe nani' ketan'to'wit'
ta'm'sa'nen pat'ahlisi'hina we'lhika'kweng.

ge'hela elangu'ndieng nda'hiha'ng nunde'oma'tain teli' nayu'ni-
a'wondango'win ni'pait' na'ni moxo'maena. ok ge'hela wa'niel
teli' o'ngo'man we'mi ne'k'ce manito'wak we'mi pe'mangwe-
pi'xtit' ok hukwe'yung. ok e'nda moca'legg' ki'kayo'yomena'ninga
we'hweli' ge'naxgit'o'tit' e'lhata'ka'onik' yu'ni pa'tamwoc'kan.
gehela' ond' ci'ki to'li kwiya'kwi nane'laeho'einen eho'ti'naeng
ki'kayoyomena'ninga yu'tepi'lahapa. wa'niel."

Yu'kwe wa'ni e'ha'ket' ma'i lama'taxpo. e'nda me'shokwe-
pitt' ok gi'e'iteik'hi'keng yu'ki'k me'xkwakwundale'sak lowe'yak
"aya'xpu'k'." e'li ne'k k'ca'tai ta'xsaandjung hata'su ika'li
wia'm'xkena'su kol'o'konik'kan e'li nane' li'xa'n' teli'te'
kol'o'kenuma'n wani' lon'a'p e'nda aihu'pott' ok naheli' nane'
puphokwu's ok ola'man' we'mi kwute'li ta'li ge'naxgit'kwu'su
gi'xki poxenik'kaning. ok e'nda awe'n aka'sema't lami'kwa'hame
na'ltene'li moxo'maena'na no'ka'la'o e'li na'lene' e'loweng
pi'ltak' to'ndal.

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cestors how, so it is said, they sadly pleaded, when, reciting their vision experiences, telling how pitiful were the conditions then in their time said to be. Verily I myself do grieve, my kindred, when I look back there into the past. But, nevertheless indeed, try your utmost, every one have a helpful will, and it might be that our pitiful plea for mercy be heard by him the Great Spirit. We may perchance sometime gain a victory to our benefit. 539^x
796

Truly my kindred, as it is forcibly said, I am oppressed with a feeling of incapability while standing here to instruct anyone in the blessing, here where stands he our Grandfather.¹ And I am truly thankful to bless with gratitude all those spirit-forces, all of them sitting round about us over the entire earth. And when we consider how our deceased ancestors so thoroughly paid attention to the obligations of this prayer-worship! Indeed how great are we privileged and blessed that still we can perform the ceremony as we were accustomed to see our deceased ancestors do it! This is sufficient for this occasion. Thanks!"

Now the leader goes and sits down. When he has properly seated himself and swept it clean² then 'these who are painted red' say "Let us all smoke! Let us all smoke." So the tobacco has been placed in a wooden bowl and should be mixed with sumac leaves (kinnickinnick³), because it is the rule that sumac shall be used [276] by the Delaware when smoking.⁴ And besides the cedar⁵ and paint are all kept there at one place close to the drum. And when anyone lights the pipe in the Big House, he will then use our Grandfather because that one also is called pure, clean fire.

¹ Indicating his position standing as though sermonizing from a pulpit before the image⁶ of the center post.

² It should be borne in mind that the speaker is to repeat his performance every night while the Big House ceremony is in session.

³ Meaning that he has dusted away latent evil potencies with the turkey-wing fan symbols. [783]

⁴ Another ceremonial name for the assistant drummer.

⁵ The verb here is said to be in the Munsee language aya'xpusk', recalling the traditional Munsee origin of the ceremony. The corresponding Delaware term is hupot'am "Let us smoke." The Delaware term kalakanik'an has cognates throughout Algonkian.

⁶ The Delaware smoking mixture consists largely of dried sumac (probably *Rhus copallina*) leaves, which are gathered before the frost strikes them in the fall and singed over an open fire, then exposed to the sun and mixed with smoking tobacco to the proportion of one-third sumac leaves and two-thirds tobacco. [276]

⁷ Smoking sumac clear or mixed with tobacco the Delaware regard as a peculiar custom of their own not shared by other peoples (see also Zeisberger, p. 116).

The Delaware were so fond of using this mixture that it is a legendary saying among them that on their hunting or scouting parties they could be identified from afar by the scent they left on the air. Having an earlier equipment with European firearms they were feared by other tribes who avoided them on this account. See also G. Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Vol. II, 1841, pp. 101-2.

⁸ The sacredness of red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*) is a prominent feature of Delaware ceremony (see p. 171). [778
824]

^x539 ni'ea aka'sak teik'hi'ke'yok. wani le'n'u ikawele' e'kale'me
wundji' a'lemi'teik'hi'ke'n ga'ttet wani' x'kwe' na'ne sko'nde
wu'ndji a'lemi'teik'hi'ke'n. tei'krenm-wi't wolu'ng'onak' nagal-
kwu'sowak o'nda teik'hi'k'eng. eli'ito' a'eka'sak kwu'tonto'lemi-
kici' teik'hi'ke'ne'yak o'nda ikapa'ti't sko'nde na' laha'pa
axto'lain ne'kik' wolu'ng'onak'.

yu'kwe nalo'xan tali' awe'n k'tei'n ok ta'li ea't tami'ke'n
e'li ma'tana'ke'i nacela'pi to'lemi k'teu'kwin ne'kik' moyo'.

mson'a'nak cuyuni'kanak.

o'nda ikape'to'xwe'ti't le'maxtapi't la'pipi'li wehe'ndji-
kan-e'i't ei'tako pi'liawe'n te'pe'lemwit' tali wehe'ndjikan-
e'in nalo'xan to'li euh'i'hi'lala'n ok lite'hate we'ndjikan'e'yo.

Recitation of Vision by Wita'panoxwe

We'mi elangu'ndieng kiki'namen'yo o'ndalamima'siya nahon-
omwi'ai'pu wehi'kiti'ti'tup' ki'kayo'ming'. wix'a'utei' na'
gaka'lo'm'kwun' na'ka ngabe'sa. i'kalinde'ska'k' e'li amee'ki
pena'ok le'k'hi'kan. nan'e newu'nda'ka'lo'm'kwun. delu'k' "ikali-
a'i te'kane na'neek' k'ti'hilana'k'sin k'pena'on le'k'hi'kan."
ok elu'we "tat'a'te elomu'kwun na'ka kotoma'ksi e'li k'pi'xin
na'ni le'k'hi'kan. ta'haei ke'ko tal'ingwehel'a'ti e'li cowa'na'
koo'sian."

geh'la elangu'ndieng nda'hi ke'ko lilae'muk' na'ka k'kayo'-
yoma. napana'hanen da'lemi oxtamu'xwen nayawunda'kwit'
e'hieli h'wusi'ke'nami'eng' e'li ei'ng'e'k. ahal'owi'ti su'kan

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Two Attendants sweep clean the House.¹ The man goes to the far end from whence he begins to sweep, while the woman begins to sweep from the door. Turkey wings are used when sweeping. Both Attendants finish sweeping at the same time when they arrive at the door and then for a while put away the wings.

Now it is permissible for anyone to go out, and quickly to come back inside because in a little while then again² will begin to stir those tortoise shell rattles, our Grandfathers.³

When they have come to where sits the next following Reciter-leader, or to anyone else feeling able to recite a vision and lead, it is permitted by the rule that he shake the rattle and, if desired, recite and lead.⁴

Recitation of Vision by Wita'panoxwe⁵

"You, my kindred, are all acquainted with where I spent my childhood, at Raccoon Creek, where lived my defunct parents. Once upon a time, then, my deceased mother scolded me. She drove me away because I was continually looking at books. That is why she scolded me. She told me, "Go away somewhere into the wilderness, since it seems that all you do, you look at books." And she said, "For all the days to come you will be poor because the book stands in your way. Never will anything be revealed to you in a vision because you live like a white man."

Truly, my kindred, very greatly this matter impressed me concerning my deceased parents. And thereupon I began walking slowly there towards the direction where the sun sets, toward the timber. More

¹ Performing the symbolical rite of clearing away obstacles from the floor of the White Path or dancing path along which the worshippers are traveling to the abode of the Great Spirit.

² It is not permitted at other times during the performance to leave the Big House (see also Harrington I, p. 96).

³ This expressive phrase represents the simile, previously mentioned, of the tortoise carrying the earth, the ceremony, and life on a west-ward course. As the tortoise rattles are passed from one Reciter to another as an invitation to perform they go the entire length of the White Path. When they have been around the building and all the Reciters have carried out their programs the session of the ceremony is over for the night. The tortoise figures as the "moving spirit" in the Big House.

⁴ This is the occasion to be seized by someone who has had a spirit-revelation but who has not recited it before.

⁵ The narrator of the text is here anticipating himself in the rôle he is to play at the next Annual Ceremony to be attended. He had recited and led the singers on former occasions of worship, but only in that part of the ceremony, during the twelfth night, known as *Astebo'mwina*. This stage of the ceremony, which will be described in its proper place (pages 155, 166), is the occasion provided for women reciters and men who have not arrived at spiritual maturity. Within the last year or so Wita'panoxwe, as his hair has begun to show signs of gray, feels himself called upon to advance into taking an active major part in the ceremony. After much thought and mental preparation on his part we see here the results of his composition in the relation that follows.

⁶ The Raccoon, *na'henom*, figures in the economic life of the tribe in a way never to be forgotten, for the term *kwut-i na'henom*, "one raccoon," denotes twenty-five cents in currency in Delaware, a reminder of the time back in the east when in the fur trade a raccoon skin was worth a shilling. Other tribes in the north traded the beaver (Cree, Montagnais) and the skunk skin (Mississinili) on the same basis.

539 eie'lan-damowa'kan o'nda po'a'eloma'k n'ha'rai li'te ge'hela
kitei't na'nelo' wola'mwe' k'kayo'yem ne'ni e'lowe't ta'hael
ke'ko tali'ngwehela'i. ok eni'te ta'p'hi-taha'e'i nane'n' tale'
lom-uko'wan wa'ni lom'a'pe ne'xpe'lom-uk'u ge'hela elangu'ndieng
metel'gai xe'li ga'xan'e'i.

me'tei o'nda ki'kalonape'ya o'holami me'ekoho'king o'nda
witai'k'e'ya'ne ne'k'tan pi'ake'nami'ane totase'ki tapu'kwik'
nambo'ndawan awe'nik' ge't'hi-ta'k-si'xtit' la'i muca'pana.
nayowunda'kwi'i wehe'ndapanaxi'ben wundo'xwe'ne'yo. ok o'nda
pe'tei na'xko'we'tit' naye'ni t'poe'kwi'i hukwe'yung o'nda
wolo'hikala'mwiya.

no'limoea'taman e'li'top' naka ngabe'wa ok ndi'te "ee'k'ta" nalet
ke'k'ik' manito'wak eha'kan-i'mat' k'kaya'yema." matanowa'to'wen
e'li'hil-a'k' ponae'lon-damowa'kan. ika' elingwehela'a'ha'ne ako' ke'ko
ne'mo'wi ke'tomakawe'niya wola'ha'xane no'liponda'ok ne'k'ik'
awe'nik'. dolo'loma'ok ne'wi'yok et' ok dolo'loma'k a'ka'eina'g'owak
et'. e'li nda'hi ke'ko lilae'm'kuk' anda' pe'tei li'tit' "ga'tei li'
teha'han ta'taha'e'i na'nen tale'lom-uko'wan wa'ni lom'a'pe ne'xpe'
lamu'kuk'."

ge'hela wani'e'i elangu'ndieng nolo'landam tali' meel'kamen
yu'ni ko'xona mwu'toma'kan ke'tan'to'wit' we'li-opale'xig.
ge'hela me'tei'gai nda'hi nundeka'kwun ke'tomakawe'niya e'li
ta'ko' "dilit'eha'i te'x'a'ta' wi'xka'utei daye'ndalae'ho'sin yuni
komenda'wenana'niq ehe'nda kolo'staek k'kay'oyamonani'nga we'
hwo'i ke'namwi'teik. euk' ta'p'tei ge'ekilo'siya. to'ka dolango-
stuk witel'lae'mik' e'li me'tei kowa'tonen ahalowi' kata-
makai'hina. pita'ta kitei'te'he'i witeo'ndie'ngwe wi'xka'utei'ni
pa'tahi-lai'hina k'tama'ksta'xkwe'ngwe na'ni kice'lamu'kung

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and more heavy became my grief when I thought inwardly about myself, pondering how true indeed was that which my parent had spoken, in truth, in saying that never would anything be revealed to me in a vision. And I thought it very likely that never I would experience a blessing that the Delaware is spiritually influenced by. Indeed, my kindred, I was humble in spirit for many years.

Now, when I became a grown man, far away in the country of the Creeks¹ where I was dwelling with them, one time when I was in the dark sometime during the night, I heard some persons coming towards me in the midst of the sky. It was here in the direction of the rising sun, whence they were coming. And when it happened that they stopped, it was right here over and above where I was lying.

I well remembered how she had spoken to me, my deceased mother, and I thought, "Lo and behold," it must be that those are the spirit-forces my parent had talked about." I do not know just how my mind acted. When I looked toward them I saw nothing, pitiful me, although I well heard those Persons. I thought positively there must have been four of them and I thought, indeed, they looked wonderful. It must have been that because of the thing I was very much impressed, when it happened that they were saying to me, "Don't think that never will you have the spiritual power that the Delaware is blessed with!"

I am truly thankful, my kindred, I am happy that I stand in this our Father's path, the beautiful White Path of the Great Spirit.² I am truly humble, for me it is unbecoming in the extreme, pitiful as I am, because never did I think that sometime or another, all of a sudden, I would be performing in this our Ceremonial House, where I patiently listened to our deceased old people who capably worshipped. But, however, I will do my utmost. Take heed, you my kindred, to help me because you know now more and more we are growing weak. So perhaps if earnestly we help each other, quite unexpectedly we might gain a spiritual victory if he hears our appeal, he, the Creator.³

¹ The Creek Indian is known to the Delawares as Ma'eko, a proper name derived from the tribal eponym of the Muskogi, as the Creek designate themselves.

² The term ce-k'ta' is an exclamation denoting surprise at the occurrence of something which is nevertheless vaguely expected.

³ Wi-ta'panoxwa, who assumes himself to be the narrator now, is imagining that he would be seated among the members of his division (Fole'). As the turtle-rattle is being passed around the Big House, after several of the elder reciters had accepted it and performed their recitation and dance, it would come to his hands. Having decided to undertake the responsibility of beginning his career as a reciter, perhaps unknown to the rest of the worshippers, he would take the turtle-rattle and begin shaking it sideways while declaiming the preceding in a loud staccato voice. (A phonograph record of the narrators recitation was made and is preserved in the collection of the Historical Commission).

⁴ With the first sentence of this address the narrator sees himself stepping out into the dancing path with his turtle-rattle. While he advances along the White Path he proceeds with the recitation following.

⁵ The informant desired emphasis to be put on the reiteration of the humble spirit, lack of self-confidence but hopeful attitude of the Delaware mind.

*539 yu'k'i'xane' awe'nik' nane'n ilowe'tit' lowe'yok ne'k'

he'tole'lemu'win

kame'ne'

hayu'na hwi+

tele'lemu'wi-

kano'wa wa'ni lan'a'pe pe'wi'tat'

aye'lu'ma

kami'ke

hayu'na hwi+

weya' wehe, kwi+

gehela' wani'ei' teli' ongo'molen len-ewe'tuk neekino'yutuk
ndaykwe'matuk' ok naheli' ne'kiee' tami'maremona'nak. kona'gx
pango'molen we'mi' e'nxenau'ga'tek. ne'ni' wela'ngosowa'kan
gehe'la' nola'lend-dam teli' pe'tei' e'lamata'nen e'nda ma'ehela'.
ong' yu'nita'li' wi'kieng. ge'belahang' e'ilae'ma 'ha'kat' e'nda
nateutema e'helale'po'mi'tt' niki'kayo'yoma ok no'li'hang maea't-
amen elki'kwi'hang k'tama'khitak'wi'xtit' lo'mwe hila'wosinga
e'nda weita'xkonutami'xtit' wenda'u'xiyti't' 'hwte'ng' ok e'le'tup'
ne'ke lak'hi'kwi'. e'nda ka'kol-oeta'ok' k'itei't' nane'le'. euk'
me'tei' alowi'. yu'kwe lak'hi'kwi' kwi'lalina'kot' elki'kwi-
ta'xi'tieng'. i'li'hang' ge'xiga'xton elangu'ndieng' ase'i' awe'nik'
we'mi' oka'i' tala'ngwe'pha'tin. euk' ia'ptei' ge'akila'siya

ge'hela' pi'ei' nda'hi' nundeka'kwun. akopona' ndi'li'teha'i' te'xta'ta
i'kali'tei' a'ixo'li' lehel-e'xe' talia' wi'xka'utei' naye'ni' owundango-
sin wehendango'sixti't' lo'mweno'tei' kiki'kayo'yomonaninga we'hweli
ke'namwi'teik. ok wani'ei' elangu'ndieng' e'nda owitei'lae'mian
e'li' na'neni' ei'xkandj li'xan we'sk'ha'kami'ke teli' awe'nik'
wi'te'ndine'yo. e'li' i'li'hang' mima'ndot' ke'ko wi'xka'utei'
miku'ngo nanewu'ndji' xingwi'. witcomu'kot' e'nda awe'n witel-
lae'mand. ge'hela' ke'ko a' e'lowe'ya euk' wani'ei' teli' nanx-

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Still can I hear those Persons there as they were speaking. They ^{539x}
said these words;¹ ⁷⁶
⁷⁸⁷

'he! You are given the same blessing

hayuna hwi hayuna hwi²

You are given the same blessing

That the Delawares are blessed with,

Through their prayer,

All over the world

hayuna hwi hayuna hwi

weya wehe. Stop!³

I am truly thankful as I address you, you men, you young men, you our women, and also you our children. I extend to you all every form of this blessing. Truly I am glad because so far we have enjoyed good health while we are gathered here in this House. Truly, as it is said, I feel grieved myself when I mention the teaching of my elder, and, as I well said, I remember how pitiful they seemed talking long ago, those defunct old men, when they related the manner of life back in the past, the past manners of that time. When I listened to them seriously it was that way. But now here it is worse. It looks hopeless at this time in consideration of our small number. It was even said a few years ago, my kindred, there were quite a number of persons all around yet sitting about. But nevertheless I shall try my utmost.

Truly with shame, so unbecoming is it for me. I did not even think that I would live sufficiently long, deserted through death,⁴ that I should, unexpectedly be instructing here where they were instructing, so long ago, our deceased ancestors who so well performed the worship. And I am thankful, my kindred, when you help me in my effort, for that has always been the rule since the beginning of the world, that persons should help each other. For it is even said that a little child may unexpectedly call attention to something important. Therefore greatly does it help when anyone is assisted in his recitation. Truly, my kindred, there is not much of importance I have to say, but I am

¹ The reciter now intones his song, a composition descriptive of his revelation and the emotions evoked by it, dancing along the path toward his first stopping point. Following the usual custom he shakes his rattle with the up and down vigorous motion. Then as in the case of the preceding recitation by Elkhair he halts at the close of his chant after signaling the drummers to stop, and the latter repeat his chant while he dances leading those who are accompanying him.

² These are the syllables with no specific word-meaning but used in chanting in a poetical sense.

³ Upon the signal hwi, "stop," the reciter gives a violent downward shake of the turtle-rattle and the drummers stop beating. At this pause the reciter begins dancing with his followers to the next stopping place, while the drummers, as explained before, repeat his chant. (dictophone record B, Pennsylvania Historical Commission).

⁴ Meaning that, being left alone upon the death of his relatives, he did not expect to survive.

539 pargo^omanen we^omi ne^ok me^oo^omanen^oak e^oai ek eloma^ohamik^o
ek hukwe^oyung e^onda le^okomu^okwiit^o we^omi tanam^o ho^oena
ke^otan^oto^owit^o tali^oge^on. ek kwu^ondji wala^otanam^onen e^onda wali-
ka^okweg.

yak tepilaha^opa nane^o de^onxi lo^owe^on.

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thankful to bring you a blessing from all those our grandfathers' round ^{539^x}
about us, both in the earth and up above where they dwell, all of them, ⁷⁹⁶
according to Our Father the Great Spirit who has arranged it. And ⁷⁸⁷
that is the source from which we enjoy benefit when we are blessed.

This is all that there is for me to say."²

¹ Meaning the carved images in the Big House and the unseen spirit-forces.

² The speaker gives his recitation in the same way every time during the twelve nights, even throughout the period of years during which he appears at the ceremony. As long as he lives he does not vary his recitation appreciably. For instance, when Joe Washington first gave his recitation he wept and did so each time he performed thereafter. The recitations are therefore formal.

III

SECOND NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

X539 ya'kwe me'tei o'nda mekan't' we'ndjikane't' kicena'k'it' nate' ne'lt' we'lt' tei'k'hiteha'sik naye'kik tak'kik lae'wi'l a'eka'wak pw'etaitami'kayto'ne'yo ne'n'i as'pang. we'miawe'n wi'tei mittee as'pang. yu'kik' xkwe'yak we'mi e'axiawe'n po'tei nayko'xkwe't' lo'kes as'hama'o. wa'nt' a'eka'o wu'alla'o. tamon e'nyt me'kak' we'mi hang. pi'lae'ticoto' kalona' e'wa' naloma' haka'ikwusu' mala'cia' e'li haka'ikwu'sit' e'mho'nea. yu'kwe awe'n o'nda moca'ndang nemi' sa'pa'q wu'ndji wala'. te'namen e'li lowe'hang wa'ni te'mi'ke't' yu'ni mem'wa'psing k'na'xpale'tama'nen o'nda i'kalangosi'ang ko'xona'ning hukwe'yung. yu'kik' acka'wak wuni'tami te'pa'tone'yo ne'n'k'uti awe'n o'lake'sing e'li nane' ci'xkandj li'xan lo'mweno'tei wend'ha'kamik'.

THIRD NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

wa'nei elangu'ndieng teli kwiya'kwi wale'lamuko'nen. me'tei nayila'k'we kana'tei yu' tala'cho'einen kamenda'nanana'nig. yu'kwe gata'ti we'miawe'n kwi'nomawa'wona na'ni pi'hit' ma'niku telia' wimbene'm'ko'ne'n na'ni mee'qholi'kan' e'li na'lenan wuni'hila'ia'o we'mi te'konae'wa. yu'kwe ala'pa ga'xta we'mi

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III

SECOND NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

[The procedure of the second night's performance follows that of the first night as respects the recitations by those who desire to chant their visions and to discourse.] ^{539*} 796

Here now, when the last Reciter-Leader has finished, and when they have swept the House well, then the other male Attendants bring inside the Big House the hominy.¹ Everyone eats the hominy in company. Each and all of the women comes bringing a dish to dip it out with. The Attendant has authority to give out the amount allotted to each, so it is said. The boys carry mussel-shells² which are used the same as when spoons are used. Now when everyone has eaten his share of the hominy, he feels happy for it, because the Bringer-in always says that this grain-food brings a spiritual blessing of strength when we set out to appeal to our common Father in the sky above. These Attendants first set apart a portion for each individual in his dish, because that is strictly understood to be the rule since long ago in the beginning of the world.³ [42]

THIRD NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

Thanks be given, my kindred that still we are blessed with good fortune. Now it is the third evening since here we have performed the ceremony in our temple-house. Now we beg, everyone of us, at his utmost that we may be favored by the pure spirit-force, by him the mask-spirit⁴ because he is the one who owns and controls all the wild animals.⁵ Now tomorrow morning all must be ready to accompany the

¹ See pag. "boiled corn" was a cereal staple in the diet of the eastern Algonkian wherever they lived. The term is cognate with New England Algonkian *scump* which has passed into English. (For discussion of the term, its history and application see A. F. Chamberlain, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethnology, part II, p. 423). [262]

² The single shell of the fresh-water mussel (*Unio companatus* in the east, *U. gibbosus*, in the west) employed as a spoon is *ee-ee'm'ah-n*. [237]

³ The procedure of the subsequent three nights in the Big House is about the same as that recorded for the first. The same speakers recite their visions. The rites of sweeping and feasting are repeated similarly.

One might ask what the worshippers do to while away the day-time between the strenuous night performances besides procuring some much needed rest. Custom permits them to indulge in native games, mention of which will be found on page 99.

⁴ Something has already been said of the mask-spirit as the guardian of game animals (p. 39). This *manit'u* is now to be made the object of worship in a pantomime of some importance.

⁵ Herein lies a concept ripe for elaboration, since the doctrine of ownership of game animals is a fundamental one in the cosmology of the Algonkian hunters of the north, whose culture has been assumed to be fundamental to the family (see pp. 39-41).

x 539 witala'it' kice'ndjexko e'li nan'e'n' tali' kwut'i'teha'nen
tali'to' tominako'nen. ni'kana'la'it' ok e'li'ka'kwi' ok onholi't'
wehi'xan'it' we'mi' ka'xta gi'eim'kwu'su ok k'ca'tai naholi't'
ne'ni ni'mwe'ho'land'. aaka'sak te'kawe'linaxa'tamuk' to'it'
te'pi' ni'mwaho'la'n we'mi' wi'tala'it' axpo'n.

ADDRESS ON THE FOURTH MORNING TO THE HUNTERS ABOUT TO LEAVE. THE MASK PERFORMANCE

yu'kwe elangu'ndieng me'tei nayu'kpa'nen ne'yu'kwun't' no'tei
yu'ni tala'cho'e'nen. ok we'mi' e'ny'eng kowa'tonen e'li'xing
yu'ni k'pa'tamwe'okane'na. yu'kwece' na'ni moxo'msena'
k'ca'tai kana'kala'wena o'nda ma'mendowa'meng' na'ni ketan'
to'wit'. ok na'ni mae'ingholi'kan o'nda na'xpangomeng' wa'ni
moxo'msena to'ndai. e'la'hyu'ni talap'tu'nen wa'ni te'mi'ke'te'.
"wani'ei we'mi' man'itu xkwit'ha'kamik' ok we'mi' man'itu
hukwe'yung. to'li ma'mendowamala'nen moxo'msa' o'nda xa'ma-
leng' yu'ni moxge'a'xkwusit' k'ca'tai. k'toma'kelami'nen
e'layu' ko'kwi'sak. kwinowa'm'kuk mae'ingholi'kan tal'a'
tomi'nako'nen. mi'li'nen na'ni te'kana'yes e'li ki'kani'hila'tamen
we'mi' te'kana'yes e'li na'kala'wena na'xpale'tama'nen neni
wio'a. ok na'ni'ce' xa'akwim e'li we'mi' me'homi'te'ing mi'kwu'-
sieng wani'ei man'itu'wak to'li na'xpangomi'nen ne'ni kama'n'.
to'wa'kan. yu'kwe na'li'hi'nen we'mi' e'nxoxtu'le'ng ketan'to'wian'
pe'tei kice'lemu'kung moe'a'li tamima'sam."

nima'xtu'tuk'! yu'kwe wa'ni' ni'kana'la'it' ok wa'ni we'te'kasi't'
ok onholi't' wa'ni we'hi'xan't' te'ka kale'la'ndamuk we'mi' kwi'-
tel-stowa'kan ok ale'po'ndowa'kan e'li kana'xpo'xwe'ne'yo we'mi
awe'n e'la'it'. nayu' we'ndape'sin kana'xpo'xwen wa'ni mae'ingho-
li'kan man'tuwa'kan ok komi'kwu'si k'ca'tai wa'ni ni'kana-
la'it' ok we'te'ka'sit' kwe'nomene'yo. me'tei o'nda nico'xkwun't'
sa'khake'ek' nalu'xan' to'li awe'n nhi'la'seen e'li haka'tange
awe'n wio'a.

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hunt because to do so we concentrate our minds¹ in order that we may^{539x}
be favored with success. The Hunt-Leader and his assistant and also⁷⁹⁶
the cook² must all be selected, and also the tobacco together with the
rations for the journey. You Attendants must see to it with care
that plenty of rations for the journey are furnished for all the hunters;
the bread.

ADDRESS ON THE FOURTH MORNING TO THE HUNTERS
ABOUT TO LEAVE. THE MASK PERFORMANCE

Here now, my kindred, we have come to the fourth day since we^{539x}
began, in this place, to perform the ceremony. And each and every⁷⁹⁶
one of us knows the ruling of this our form of Prayer-Worship. Now⁷⁸²
we are using the tobacco our grandfather, while we are pleading
earnestly with the Great Spirit. And the Mask-Spirit also, when we
are giving thanks to him our grandfather Fire. This is how it is
done by the Bringer-In³, "I thank all the Spirit-Forces on top of the
earth and all the Spirit-Forces up above. Wherefore we earnestly
plead with grandfather when we give you to eat this red man's to-
bacco. Have pity on us here your grandchildren. They are begging
you, Oh Mask-Spirit, that we may have success. Give us the wild
animals since you control them, all the wild animals because we need
that we may be blessed with this meat. And that one, our mother the
corn, because of all the food given us I thank you Spirit Forces that
we are given the blessing of your spirit-power. Now give us all we
ask of you Great Spirit that you are and, our creator, think of your
children."

Brothers⁴ Now the Hunt Leader, and he who is assistant, and also^{539x}
the cook, you must all remember the instructions and traditional rules⁷⁹⁶
that all persons who hunt observe as they journey. Here now being
under our power, you are taking as you go the spirit-power of the
Mask-Spirit, and tobacco is given the Hunt Leader and his assistant
which they carry. Now when you have been gone two days it is
permissible that any one who has killed something, they may use
the meat.⁵

¹ This means that the hunters who are now to go forth are to be supported and strengthened by the "power of wish," in concentration by the worshippers who stay behind in the Big House.

² Incidentally this is one of the occasions when the Attendants are obliged to furnish the food without the usual payment of wampum that they ordinarily receive.

³ He prays as follows and sprinkles a little tobacco on each of the two fires of the Big House while declaiming.

⁴ The Master of Ceremonies having finished his prayer now addresses the hunters who are ready to go forth. He charges them with their instructions as they stand directly in front of the drummers, facing him.

⁵ This means that if no deer have been taken by the hunters by the second day they may kill and eat any animal for food since by this time they may be relieved from the monotony of the corn bread diet.

Some of the interesting observations of this event as remembered by the

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x 539

yu'kwe o'nda a'palai'xiti' wa'ni ni-kani'xing o'nda me'tai
 pe'xu'tei pa'xiti' tonia' lait'po'ku kwu'ten kwuta'hen ok tata
 e'ngi a'xta 'hi'land' na'leone xa'n k'ta'hen. yu'kwe o'nda
 daleka'ok pa'ndao'xiti' to'li k'ta'hen wa'ni e'lait' ea'ite' wi-
 kwa'haming li' tomi'ke'hale' ok na'xko'homa'o wa'ni e'lait'. we'mi
 a'eka's ki'eona'k'su to'li xa'ma'n e'lai'tei' ok we'mi ne'henas'-
 nge'w la'yon-a'n ok xa'ma'n e'la'heneni li'm'kot' ok li'm'kwa'ein
 wa'ni a'eka's.

hi'tami wa'ni to'mi'ke't' pa'tama' k'ca'tai 'haka'tam. na'xpa'ngeni
 o'nda ikalango'sit' ko'xona'ning yu'te'pi laha'pa

comute' hang e'langu'ndieng lo'mwe no'tet li'xan to'li wi'nowa-
 ma'nen wa'ni moeinghali'kan tali ko'nt'kan. ok we'o'tae'k'
 ne'li a'owa'kana' nen'haka'k'otek o'nda na'xkohoma'und' wani
 moeing. we'miawe'n geto'tomi'ke't' nale'xan tali' pwa'ein
 ne'li ko'nt'ka't wa'ni moeing wikwa'haming"

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

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Now when they return from the hunt, the Hunt-Leader when now ^{539x} he has come near even if it is midnight, shall shoot a signal once for ⁷⁷⁶ as many deer as were killed, shooting so many times. And now when the Cranes hear the signal-shot of the Hunter he shall immediately run into the Big House and begin to sing for these hunters. All the Attendants must be ready to feed the hunters and all the horses unsaddled and fed, for that is the rule and act governing the Attendants.¹

First the Bringer-in prays, using tobacco.² He bestows a blessing ^[782] when offering praise to him our Father. This is sufficient for this time.³

There is also, my kindred, an ancient custom that we beg the Mask-Spirit to dance for us. You Cranes, you know how and you understand those songs which are used for this occasion when singing for the Mask. Every person who wants to go in the Big House is permitted to look on while the Mask dances in the Big House.⁴

Informant, who has taken part in this hunting rite, are that the leader distributes portions of tobacco to the hunters who are under his control. At each night's camp the stopping place is selected by him, the rations of food are distributed, tobacco is offered to the fire with a prayer by the leader and other details suggesting the rules governing the war parties' conduct among Central Algonkian and in the southern Plains areas. ^[224]

Wita'panoxwe, it is interesting to note, recalled, during his experience with the hunting squad, how a screech-owl cried near their camp one night; which has long been a sign of good luck (see also Zeisberger, p. 139). The next day he killed a deer, being the first of the party to do so. ^{W25 777}

¹ The hunters are not obliged to be concerned with the trouble of saddling, unsaddling or feeding their horses when enlisted in the sacred task of the ceremonial hunt. The Attendants take over all such duties of service to them and their animals.

² He burns a little tobacco in the fire.

³ Hereupon it being between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the hunters leave, departing westward toward the Oage nation nowadays, the only hunting ground accessible to them.

⁴ The man wearing the mask and the bear-hide clothes keeps the mask and clothes some hundred yards from the Big House at the edge of the brush in the open, hung upon a branch to keep it away from the dogs. Anyone who desires to perform this rite may put on the paraphernalia and accept the invitation as given above, and go into the Big House and dance. His dance lasts about ten minutes anywhere in the Big House that he desires. The mask when worn is held by the chin with the holder's fingers in the mouth of the mask, so that the wearer can adjust the focus of the eyes of the carving to his own focus of vision. The eye holes are small, yet the mask could be adjusted so that the performer could see as though he were looking through spectacles. To be able to do this was considered as a sign of spiritual greatness. It might be added that the face illustrated in Harrington's study (Fig. 1, p. 32) has the left eye-hole enlarged, something that had been done improperly, according to the informant. He leaves wearing the garb and returns it to the place where it is kept (Fig. 9). This all takes place before noon.

IV

FOURTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

*539 akka'sak ndu'mole'nawak. "meki'kon'e'xiq etayu'ta!" wa'ni akka'sa 'du'gge "me'xiki'kon'e'xiq!" "We'lakone'xiq e'tayu'ta" na'ke'li'gge lo'we wa'ni akka'sa me'teikona'komko'wa "Lan-owi'nund'e'tayu'ta" me'teikona'ko'mko'wa "Tapano'xwe tayu'ta" me'teikona'ko'mko'wa "Pe'mipaxko'xwe etayu'ta" me'teikona'ko'mko'wa "Tala'pen etayu'ta" me'teikona'kom'ko'wa.

wa'ni te'mi'ke'te lo'we "ni-magto'stuk' e'lahyu'ni kwutai'kani ke'k'. hanaxpo'xwe'ne'yo wa'ni ne'tami wi'hi-lond. ma'epa-tama'homu kwo'tsemi to'len ok ni'ea xan'. taapale'tamane'yo hukwe'yung' e'pit' na'ni ke'xona ke'tan'to'wi't'. ok ne'thake'xtit' yu'kik pa'tama'teig kwo'tsemi'ng ke'powa' akka'sak a'ta ki'oonak'ni'homa to'li mawa'sine'yo. akka'sa wunda'x'e'li we'toni kwutai'kani ke'k' asoni'ce' wu'ndax'li'tei ni'pait' na'ni komo'xo'mauna. to'nda la'xana'n ne'kik ke'kok. we'mi akka'sa tami'ke'tete e'li naya'kwe x'o'lon'i'ti ma'wasi'ne'yo

yu'kwenda'loni mawa'si'xtit' yu'kik akka'sak lowe'yak' ne'k m+ m+ m+.

wa'ni pe'mto'n'het lo'we "e'langu'ndie'ng me'tei ne'wila'ki-wi kane'tei yu'ta'li pa'tama'nen. ok k'tamina'kwe awe'n me'w'sit' yu'kik e'lai'teik wi'xkaute'a' awe'n ca'i apa'tei te'ka na'xa'. tamuk' taleka'ok. e'li kowa'to'n e'li'm'ka. pon-dama'ne li k'ta'ha ca'i tami'ke'ha'hamu kama'x'gaha'ge'homu."

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IV

FOURTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

The Attendants call the men.¹ "Red Horns must be hereabouts!" The Attendant calling out, "Red-Horns!, Red-Horns!" "Good-Horns must be hereabouts!" If he answers the Attendant says, "Now he has answered." "Locks-like-a-Man must be hereabouts!" "Now he has answered." "Rises-at-Daybreak must be hereabouts!" "Leaf-Man must be hereabouts." "Now he has answered." "How-the-Weather-is must be hereabouts." "Now he has answered."²

The Bringer-in says, "Brothers, here is the one shoulder length of wampum. You, the first ones called, take it with you and pray outside, ten and two times. Lift the prayers on high and where he dwells our father, the Great Spirit. And while these praying ones are outside you Attendants must be ready to 'pick berries.' Attendant come here, take one shoulder length of wampum right over there on this side where stands Our Grandfather.³ There do you unstring these wampum beads. All Attendants come in, because here, soon they are going to pick berries."

Here they begin "picking berries," the Attendants, saying this, "m+!"⁴

The speaker says, "My kindred, now it is the fourth evening since we have been worshipping here. And should any one of the hunters whatsoever have good fortune all of a sudden, some one of the drummers be careful and watch for them at once. Because you know the rule. If you hear the signal-shot run inside the Big House at once. You must sing for them."

¹ Now at the opening of the fourth night's performance following the departure of the hunters on their ceremonial hunting excursion, and after the Mask-Spirit has performed his antics in the Big House, the rites of the night are resumed by the Master of Ceremony who orders the Attendants to call forth certain of the old men of prominence to offer prayer for the success of the hunters. There is some honor attached to this selection, the men so singled out being called in a loud voice by their native names or titles.

The informant is pretending, in the text, that some prominent men are being called. He has changed his style of narration into the form of a monologue.

² Whereupon the men thus summoned by the Attendant answer "Haa" or "Ye," when they hear their names called and come into the Big House.

³ Those whose names have been called who form a praying squad now go outside and facing eastward raise their right hands giving the prayer-call ho+ six times and hi+ six times.

⁴ "Picking the berries" is a figure of speech referring to the action of the six Attendants, three men and three women, who crouch down and pick up the scattered wampum beads spilled as commanded on the hard ground under the center post, and cram as many as they can into their mouths. This causes some innocent mirth among the audience. They accompany the act with the sound m+ as noted in the next few lines. Their action symbolizes the habit of "birds picking up berries," (a sympathetic rite perhaps). The informant did not consider the performance to have any deep symbolical reference, but merely a method of paying extra wampum to the Attendants for their services.

⁵ Referring in the mask-images on the center-post.

⁶ In Harrington's account, (I, pp. 99-100) of this rite the Attendants are put down as saying "Ho-o-o!"

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V

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH NIGHTS OF THE CEREMONY

THE SEVENTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY
RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

339 me'tei elangu'ndieng nica'e xila'kwi k'ti'hilit pe'tei tam-
kayto'nen yu'ni pe'tamwekansa'na. yu'kwe ga'hane' ei'ki
to'li tam'na'ko'nen yu'ki'k' ko'skin-eyemane'nak want gw'i's
"ne'hane'yu'xwe" ok "hwitellu'ngwan" ei't' mase'yok gahela'-
wan'ei. ia'p'tei kwu'ndji wala'tenami'nen ok kane'ka'la'wona na'ni
se'ree kane'xpale'tama'nen e'nda winowa'megg' na'ni ke'tan-
to'wit.

ok gahela' ei'ki to'li' wala'panami'nen ki'k'ekwi'ke
wu'ndji walamaki'nen. e'nda o'panaximegg' e'nda ne'egg' na'ni
xa'sena gi'coy to'li' ox'tamon we'mi yu'ni elama'kamik' ok
kwu'ndji lamahi'nen e'nda hama'ndamegg' to'li petei ke'te-
kako'nen ne'ni wole'xeyan. ok gahenewani'ei onda' oggo'megg'
na'ni pi'akewani' pe'pame'ska't' kya'sena gi'coy. e'li pi'panda'-
wona'ngga kika'yoyomane'ni'ngga e'nda we'taykonotam'xiti'
lowe'yak hang "ni'paigi'coy ok nabeli' ne'ko' ala'ngok we'mi
ta'ne'ti' tali'xoma'n na'ni nebelak'weng." ok nanico' ko'xona' ge-
cyng ok wa'ni gah'e'sena "hi' pe'mi'tan'ik' ok nanico' mox'e-
msena to'nda' ok we'mi ska't' elaggwep'xiti' manitu'wak'. gahela'
elangu'ndieng to'xha'ng' elama'hi' ke'tama'kawe'niya'. da'hi
nundeka'k'wun 'ea'wama'hi'n hang' dale'po'ngge'n dala'ngowda'wan
elki'kwi me'tei a'ho'xek' ok elki'kwi k'wawu'k'weng. pona' yu'kwe
e'nda alami' k'ikona'k'weng ne'ki'k' manitu'wak' e'uxon'ikanak'
to'ka elangu'ndieng' mase'tamu'tam to'li' naq'pango'manen
nani' ke'tan'to'wit. ok ga'hane'ei'ki to'li' winbuna'ahy'nen
na'ni ko'xona' pe'tei ki'celomu'k'weng ne'li' ce' xapita'k'weng
to'koma'sa.

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V

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH NIGHTS OF THE CEREMONY

[The performance of the usual recitations and dances of the previous nights is repeated.] 539x
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SEVENTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY
RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

Now, my kindred, it is the seventh evening come since we have brought in this pure prayer-worship. Now it is very pleasing that we have had good fortune, that these our young men and that he my son "Walking-four-abreast" and "With-Wings" have killed game. I am indeed thankful. On account of it at least we feel pleased, and we use the animal that we offer up as a sacrifice when we are pleading with the Great Spirit.¹ [782]

And it is truly grand that we are having good weather each and every day, on account of which we enjoy good health. When we wake up to another day, when we see him our elder brother the sun how he lights up all this earth, which causes an emotion within us, when we feel the coming warmth of his breath of life. And we are truly thankful when we acknowledge the blessing of the Night-Traveler, our elder brother the Night-Moon.² For we have heard the deceased, our ancient people of the past while they were explaining these many things say, according to tradition, "Night-Moon and also those stars, all of them were put in place by him who owns us." That one, our father the Wind, and that one, our mother Water, flowing stream³ and that one, our grandfather Fire, all are sitting around us; the Spirit-forees.⁴ Truly, my kindred, I feel very discouraged, pitiful me. It is unbecoming for me, I feel unable, as it is said, to instruct my own kindred in blessings, so difficult is it now and so heavily are we oppressed. For instance now, when we are about to be touched by these Spirit-forees, the shell-rattles, be careful, my kindred, we must remember that we are praying for a blessing to the Great Spirit. And it is wonderful that he feels sympathy for us, he our father, also our Creator, in those wild animals which he has given us.⁵

¹ The narrator of the text is assuming that the ceremonial hunt has had a happy conclusion; that the two young men named have been blessed with game.

² The informant compared the offering of "wild animal" flesh in this capacity with the Hebrew offering of a pure lamb on the altar. Said he, "It shows the real feeling of the worshipper to offer this pure clean flesh."

³ It may be recalled here that both the luminaries are moons according to Delaware conceptions.

⁴ Another means of designating the Great Spirit.

⁵ A metaphor for our mother Water.

⁶ Referring to the man-PU controlling the world of nature but especially referring to the carved images on the post of the Big House who symbolize the Spirit-force behind everything that possesses life. [776]

⁷ In the preceding passage we have an example of the high sounding discourse which the Delaware language is capable of expressing.

EIGHTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

VI

NINTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

x 539 yu'kwe akka'wak kowa'to'ne'yo e'li'xin yu'ni ale'po'ndowa'kan
 to'ti kale'is'ndamene'yo we'mi enxi'yek' tall' awe'n ga'ta
 pi'lahe'sin. we'mi pi'pondamene'n ne'ni e'le'pe'nding'
 ne'kayke' ki'kayoyomene'ninga'. lowe'yak' hang' pi'li'to' awe'n
 tande'uhe'. e'li e'nda 'haka'land' ne'ki'k' tande'whe'ndjik
 man-ito'wak a'lai tande'uhe'te awe'n a'hi hwi'eka wei'tei-
 na'kot' tall' ma'ta pi'li'wun wa'ni a'hwetel tande'uhe't. euk'
 e'nd ni'maxto'stuk we'mi ke'ko a'powat e'nda maya'li le'k.
 yu'kwe kowa'to'ne'yo tall' pi'li'to'ne'yo yu'ni ni'eena'uki
 ebe'nda tande'ik'. we'mi te pung' tuxoxta'su e'le'hanen-
 ebeli'x'e'ika'k' k'pa'ho'n na'nen i'hili' 'haka'lkot' ok e'nda
 toma'hma'eng' wa'ni te'mi'kot'. na'ne' tall' k'etn we'miawe'n
 e'le'hanen' li'm'kot' yu'ni pa'tamweo'kan'e'na

waniel' elangu'ndieng tall' ongo'melan. gehela' ne'le'landam
 e'nda nanxango'melan we'mi enxena'ga'tek' wolango'owa'kan.
 me'tei elangu'ndieng i'ka pete'lamuko'nen yu'ni te'nda pili-
 taeng' yu'ni kmen-da'wene'na. gehela'waniel tall' pe'tei e'lamal-
 ainen pe'tei lak'xi'yeng' e'li yu'kwe pi'ake'k' kowa'to'nen
 ebeli'nayeng' ki'kayoyomene'ninga' we'hweli' ke'naxhi-tu'x'ti'
 ne'ni ale'po'ndowakan ok k'et'elotowa'kan.

ok elangu'ndieng we'miawe'n nehela'lat euxoni'kan'a' pwe'tei
 naxpo'xwe'n nda'tami'ke't. nate'yu'ni ne'maxtapit' wa'ni te'mi'.
 ke't' t'poskwi't da'ti ca'xaxkame'xaman we'mi ne'ki'k' euxoni'k-
 anak ok akka'wak kowa'to'ne'yo tall'te wendja'ki'ne'yo we'mi ke'ko
 kiei'xto'ne'yo elipona' ne'ki'k' paykandi'kanak ok pop'x'kwue
 naheli' na'ola'man pe'kan ok ma'mendahi'kanak we'mi ke'ko ne'ka'ti
 ko'tek' yu'kwe e'nda pi'ake'k' ga'ta kiei'm'got'.

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EIGHTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

[The usual performance is repeated.]

VI

NINTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

"Now Attendants, you understand by the rules of this teaching, ^{539x} that you keep in mind each of and all of you, that a person must act in ⁷⁹⁶ purity.¹ All of us have heard the regulations of the past of our deceased ancestors. They said, according to tradition, that a clean pure person shall kindle fire. Because when using those fire-making spirit-^[781] forces, if the person should fail to make fire it would clearly seem a fact that he who tries to make fire is not clean. Nevertheless my brothers everything is easy when correctly done. Now you understand that you shall purify these two places where the fire always is. All the ashes shall be carried out there through the sun-set door that is so intended for it, and when we have finished the ceremony the Bringer-in goes out through it. Such is the rule for everybody in this our prayer-worship.

I am thankful, my kindred, I can address you with respect.² I am truly well pleased when I can extend to you³ all every token of high respect and esteem. Now, my kindred, we have lived on to the point where we are cleaning this fire here in our ceremonial House.⁴ I am indeed thankful that we have come so far in good health as this evening comes on, because this night we know how we have seen our deceased aged people perform, those who so thoroughly carried out the teachings and the strict rules of procedure.

And, my kindred, everyone who owns turtle-rattles should bring them with him when coming into the Big House. And right here where sits the Bringer-in, right opposite that place they should put them in a straight line, all those turtle-rattles. And Attendants, you know that you must prepare and make ready everything such as, for instance, those drum sticks,⁵ and the cedar, and also that red paint, blood root, and the prayer sticks; everything that is used now on this night must be prepared for certain.

¹ To have been "pure and clean," the Attendants must have refrained during the ceremony period from sexual intercourse, intoxication and the like. They may not enter the Big House to prosecute their duties if they have violated these rules.

² aggo'ma, the verb used here cannot be rendered by a single equivalent in English, so I have been obliged to paraphrase it as it occurs in the text from a choice of equivalents "to show respect for some one, to honor, esteem, invoke a blessing, to greet, to shake hands with."

³ The importance of fire as a symbol of moral purity and as an emblem of life and health in Delaware philosophy can hardly be over estimated. A short discourse on the symbolism of fire has been given in the introduction and the beliefs outlined there should be recalled with the reading of the sermon that follows. [372]

⁴ This refers to both the plain and the carved drum sticks.

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yu'kwe ne'tami'xing wa'ni ni'kami'xing a'eka'a we'ton-ome kwutal'-
 kan-i ke'k' te'ka woli' k'ea'ho ne'kik' euxoni'kanak' we'mi'te
 awe'n ni'la ke'k'o to'ta se'kai'kanat' ne'li'i euxoni'kana'. ok elag-
 gu'ndieng me'tei nayu'ni pete'lamuk'o'nen o'nda lowe'ng'hang'
 wihi'ti'n acka'sak 'du'mu ne'kik' awe'nik wendji'mak'.

ni'maxto'stuk celahyu'ni kwutal'koni ke'k' elaggu'ndieng mai
 pa'tamahemu kwo'teoming. o'ndate ataxni'ea xon' aspale'tama'ek
 neni' kwena'muwakan nate k'la'kohomautine'yo neni'ke'k'.
 ackasak ae'la'osik'. yu'kwe we'miawe'n nehela'lat' euxni'kana'
 mo'ewetona'o ok euxi'hilala' na'ni euxoni'kan' te'p'lak'hi'kw'i.
 o'nda kicena'ko we'naike'ko naholi' ne'kik' pa'xkandi'kanak'
 laxauxai'teik' ok se'hon we'mi ne'k' ma'mendahi'kanak' e'e'nyi'

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Now, the first thing that the Leading Attendant is to do is to take ^{539^x} one shoulder-length of wampum, carefully and properly to measure ⁷⁷⁶ those turtle-rattles so everyone will be given wampum beads in accordance with the length of the backs of his turtle-rattle.¹ And, my kindred, we have been permitted to see right here how, as it is said, the Attendants call by name those persons whom they send for. [304]

[Repeat the procedure of first paragraph page 143, in which certain men are called by name to enter the big house and pray as was done on the fourth night.]

Ye my brothers, here now is one shoulder-length of wampum.² My kindred go give the prayer-call out doors. When twelve times the supplication shall have been lifted up then you shall divide the wampum equally among you. Attendants, build up a bright fire. Now everyone who owns turtle-rattles go take them and shake them, those turtle-rattles, as should be done. When everything is ready, including those forked drumsticks, do you scatter all those prayer sticks in an even number on each side³ of the Big House. Now my kindred again

¹ This rite has the significance of a symbol—or spiritual compensation for the service of vision recitation, and the blessing it brings to the people, of those who have so performed. Harrington (I, pp. 103-4) makes mention of this rite, and speaks of the owners of the rattles, when reclaiming the rattles and the wampum placed with them, shaking the rattle several times to test its sound. He adds that if it does not sound well the owner, abashed, takes his property out of sight as soon as possible. Our informant corrected this impression by pointing out that the owners shook these rattles intentionally as though to say thanks, and that there was a spirit of drollery in the pass which caused sometimes a ripple of mirth, not as serious in mien as Harrington understood it to be. [522]

² There is an interval here. The speaker has turned to those chosen to give the prayer call. He has given to the owners of the rattles those who have reciting their visions during the ceremony, the amount of wampum measured off on their shells. They accept this by taking the rattle and shaking them a few times. Some mirth may be aroused among those present if the sound of the rattles is not clear.

³ In the distribution of the Prayer Sticks among the spectators, the first and second attendants go from one end of the Big House to the other, going in opposite directions (east to west, and west to east). They lay the sticks in front of the people at reasonable distances apart, placing them so that the decorated sticks are opposite each other and the plain ones opposite each other. If the sticks do not come opposite each other, it must be done over again. The singers chant a certain song while this distribution is taking place. [778] should add that each Attendant distributes three plain and three decorated sticks. The symbolism of the six (spotted) or decorated sticks represents the cry of ho+ in the prayer call, the plain sticks the cry of hü+, although all the prayers mingle in the calls, irrespective of whether they have been bestowed with the decorated or plain sticks. The informant's words were added, "There has to be a way of showing the difference between the beginning cries of ho+ and the ending cries of hü+, so it is shown on the sticks by the marks."

(Specimens of the prayer sticks made by the informant, are 14 inches in length, made of red maple and sassafras, fig. 14).

x 539 we'nda'kwi wikwa'haming. me'tei elangu'ndieng la'pt ta'lemi
ki'kenako'nanak yu'ki-k' manito'wak' pe'muxoxtu'xti' yu'ni
pa'tamweo'kanona

yu'kwe acka'sak teik'ke'k', yu'kwe me'tei. wa'ni: ni'kani'xing
a'ekas tande'uho'k ok 'u'ro' pap'ho'kwae

"wani'ci ke'tan'towian' me'tei nane'n pe'telemuko'nen o'nda
pi'hi'ksueng yu'ni wi'kieng e'li nane ci'xkandj li'xan
lomwe'kamik' no'tei we'ak'hakam-i'ke. enda'awe'n meca'la't'
tamima'soma elki'kwi wole'lemukuk'. ok on'dane'yot' te'li
o'lamalsi'ne'yo ok wu'ndji wola'tenamuwa'kan o'nda tona'ele'n-
dameng elki'wi woli'ka'kweng' ne'ni uli'te'he'yokan ko'xona
ke'tan'towit'. na'xpone k'tama'n damane'n ne'ni k'tei'tanewawa'kan
na'ni k'moxo'msena te'nda' wu'ndji wali'laeha'nen o'nda
pili'hang ok wali'ta'pa'leng' ok o'nda xa'meng' ne'lice' pap'h-
o'kaa. we'mi taneni' pona'xpango'monen nani' moxo'msena
e'li kwimbone'm'ko'na o'nda ne'xkong teli k'toma'kaehwi'nen
o'nda winowa'meng we'mi mani'to hukwe'yung o'nda le'lam-
u'k'ok ok we'mi ne'kik eloma'kamik'. nali'hi'sen we'mike'ko
we'tu'xieng' enxoxto'leng' we'tan'towian pe'tei kice'lemu'kong."

yu'kwe acka'sak wa'ni: ni'kani'xing pemu'xoxtu ta'xanu'ndjung
ke'kox. we'mitcawe'n mi'la'n e'en'xi naxa' ke'ko. ga't'tei wa'ni
we'te'kasit' xkwe'ii a'ekas pomu'xoxtu' ho'kes'andju o'nda
lan'ing ola'man ok pe'kon we'mitcawe'n ela'ka'naj.

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these spirit-forces are beginning to touch those who carry on this our prayer-ceremony.³ 539^x
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Now the Attendants sweep the Big House clean. Now the leading Attendants make fire and burn cedar.⁴

"I am thankful, Oh thou Great Spirit, that we have been spared to live until now to purify with cedar smoke this our House, because that has always been the rule in the ancient world since the beginning of creation. When anyone thinks of his children how fortunate it is to see them enjoying good health. And this is the cause of a feeling of happiness when we consider how greatly we are blessed by the benevolence of our father, the Great Spirit. And we can also feel the great strength of him our grandfather Fire for which we cause him pleasure when we purify and take care with it, and when we feed him this cedar. All of this together we offer in esteem to him, our grandfather, because he has compassion when he sees how pitifully we behave while we are pleading with all the spirit-forces above as they were created and with all those here on earth. Give us everything, our father, that we ask of you Great Spirit even the Creator."⁵ [782]

Now the leading Attendant shall carry around a wooden bowl of wampum beads. To every person he shall give equally three wampum beads.⁶ But the Following Attendant, a woman Attendant, shall carry a bark bowl containing paint and bloodroot so that everyone shall be anointed with paint.⁷ [327]

³ At the conclusion of these rites on the ninth evening the recitation of visions and the dancing around the White Path is resumed by the reciters as on the preceding nights. When the last reciter has completed his round the ceremony proceeds as announced in the ensuing paragraph with the burning of cedar.

⁴ At this juncture the Leader goes to the fire at the east of the center post while the cedar is burning and then to the west fire, and delivers the following prayer in a low tone.

⁵ With the ending of his prayer the Leader has timed his movements so that his time was divided before each of the two fires of the Big House while the cedar incense had been burning.

⁶ Those receiving the beads can keep them if desired. But it was customary for them to return the wampum to the common fund by putting them in a little bowl standing on one of the hominy mortars outside after the meeting is over for that night. It was only by redonation of this nature that the supply of wampum necessary for conducting the ceremony could be assured. [425]

⁷ Some notes on the use of blood-root (*Banguinaria canadensis*) as a red stain, or an anointment administered to the faces of all the worshippers, have been included in the introduction. A point, however, arises in the matter of ceremonial usage here as recorded in Harrington's study (I, pp. 105-6). He mentions that a bowl of grease is carried around from which the attendants anoint the skin of those to be painted. It might be inferred that some religious significance is attached to the use of grease in this act. And especially so in view of the similar function of grease among the far northern Algonkian who use grease rubbed on the face as "feeding the soul-spirit." Questioning the informant on this interesting point, however, only brings out the simple statement that the grease is put on to protect the skin from the effects of the paint, or *peo-kan*, which tends to be irritating. The grease is also put on the carved faces in this case to make the paint, put on after, sink in better. One might imagine, nevertheless, that at some former time the putting on of the grease was more of a rite than it is now. [384]

537 e'nda we'mi ki'een'ako nate' tota'me'o'si't' yu'ki'k' akka'sak te'lax-
 kana'e we'mi mosingo' la'mikwa'hame. ee'la'hane elangu'ndieng'
 lo'mweno'tei li'm'kot' ok di'hila'cho'sin wa'ni lona'pe e'nda ga'ta
 woli'laaha't' ko'xona'n'a ke'tan'to'wit'

akka'sak temi'kaxtuk' kwi'xonikano'wa' ok ko'lakesowa'. we'-
 miawe'n e'nyi pe'ta'k' lo'kes xa'ma'te aa'pan ok wiyu'a.
 e'nda kiei'mitaa'xtin nate' we'miawe'n ke'ta lamikwa'hame
 kawi't' pe'tu'te ke'ko ne'ka'tam ta'k'ta ke'ko wuni'hila'tamen
 e'lina'ko a'kwi'yana. yu'kwe me'tei pe'ekun t'xilla'kwe no'tei
 yu'ni wiki'nen

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

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When all is ready then shall either one of these Attendants paint ^{539x} every Carved Image in the Big House. For that, my kindred, since ⁷⁹⁶ ancient days is the rule and conduct of the Delaware when they intended to place our father, the Great Spirit.

Attendants, bring into the House your cooking and your dishes. ^[554] Each and everybody who brings a dish give him to eat some hominy and meat. When eating is finished, then shall everybody who desires to sleep in the House bring whatever things to use he may choose such as bed clothes.¹ Here now it is nine evenings since we have camped.²

¹ This is to be noted as a privilege accorded for this time to the worshippers who are attending the ceremony—a sanctification.

² The Delawares are widely scattered over Washington County, of the Cherokee Nation, hence in congregating for the ceremony they are obliged to domicile themselves in tents. ^[p42]

VII

TENTH AND ELEVENTH NIGHTS OF THE CEREMONY

TWELFTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

THE A'TEHO'MWIN

539 waniel' elangu'ndieng tali' me'tei ikapa'nen yu'nt e'nda
 wi'kwia'xta'eng ne' me'xhgwelomaxgo'tek pa'tamwes'kanona.
 gebala' wani'ci tali' pe'tei o'lama'ai'nene ok 'taki't wu'ndji
 e'nda pe'tei wolai'ke'eng e'li elangu'ndieng xelona'u'ki ge'ta
 mi'kan-da'ming yu'kwe na pi'akek. nola'londam ni'maxto'stuk'
 ok ndoxkwe'matuk pe'tei ne'kee' tami'masomena'nak elki'kwi-
 wo'lili'nameng na'xpone elki'kwi wola'pana'mi'eng kiki'ekwi'ke.
 'hwte'ng li' e'li na'xpone. nanice' muxo'msona to'nda' ok
 yu'kik muxo'msona'nak oka't elan'gwepi'teik' we'mi kwu'ndji
 wola'te'nami'nene pe'teilak'

ok elangu'ndieng yu'kwe pi'akek nalo'xon tali' awe'n a'teho'mwin
 ee'li nani'ci'xkandj li'xan lo'mwe no'tei ehi'ki gunwin'ge wani'
 len'a'pe ha'te'. ok wa'kot' li' e'nda to'len ok ni'ea xi'jakwi natane'ee'
 di'hi'lak'hi'kwi wi'te'las'ngene yu'kik daxkwe'mona'nak ok tak'ta'
 awe'n te'pe'lamwit' yu'kik kwus'lonape'mona'nak kicitehate
 awe'n ahi'k'ta. ge'hela nalo'xon tali' a'teho'mwin. e'li ee'la'hanek
 ki'kowasi'teik lo'n-owak kicimkwu'sowak tali' wite's'ndamone'yo
 yu'ni pa'tamwes'kanona. e'li a'hi hwu'ska k'wu'kon yu'nt
 mi'kam'owakan e'li a'hi xingwi'ke'ko. na'ne wu'ndji pona'
 wa'ni k'ha'sona weo'p'at' tali'pona'mon ga'owes'owakan. e'li
 e'nda ne'kweng' tali' kitci'tehe'i k'tema'kaeho'sinen yu'ni
 konenda'wona'ning wu'ndji kace'lenda'mon na'ni ke'kaya'mhe'a
 ok kwu'ndji wite'mu'kainen na'xpone k'tata'k'he'na tet'hu'n.

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VII

TENTH AND ELEVENTH NIGHTS OF THE CEREMONY

[The performance of the usual recitations and dances is repeated.]

TWELFTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

THE A-TEHO'MWIN

I am thankful, my kindred, that we have come to the point where we are bringing to a close our worship which is so greatly esteemed.^{539x}
 I am indeed thankful that so far we have enjoyed good health from the commencement when we came here to camp, and because, my kindred, there are many more things that we want to do here tonight. I am glad, my brothers and my sisters and also those our children for so much good fortune as we have been blessed with for instance for such good weather as we have had day after day. As it was back in the beginning so, for instance, it is here. There is our grandfather Fire and these our grandfathers sitting around in our midst,⁷⁹⁶ we should feel joy on account of them all as this evening has come.

And, my kindred, this night it is permitted that any one may take part in "the-performance-after-letting-the-fires-go-out"¹ because that has always been the rule since ancient times, since the beginning of the Gamwin of the Delawares. Whence also it is known that upon the twelfth evening then, and there is the time that they take part in and help; namely, these our women and any other person who feels competent among our young people whose mind is made up. Yea, anyone truly may be permitted to perform "the-performance-after-letting-the-fire-go-out."² For there are those older men who have been assigned the duty to maintain this our prayer-worship. For truly indeed this performance is a heavy burden because it is a very great thing. That is why he, our elder brother the white man looks at it as such, a wonderful performance. Because they regard us and see how earnestly we act the humble part in this our House of Worship, on account of it the government has great concern. And that is why we obtain help and

¹ This sermon represents the opening of the ceremony on the twelfth night. Since the conclusion of the last speech, on the ninth night the procedure of the intervening period (the tenth and eleventh nights) has been a repetition of the usual recitations and dancing gone through before.

² Referring again to the carved images on the posts of the Big House.

³ The designation for this stage of the ceremony is a-teho'mwin. As the fires are now allowed to burn out, the ceremony is conceived as drawing to its close. The rectors who have played the major rôle up till this time no longer take the lead, for, as we are told, the meeting is to be turned over into the hands of the women and younger people who feel called to lead the dances, playing a minor part. Other notes on the symbolism of this ceremonial rite of conclusion have been offered in the introduction, pp. 57-8. Several specimen narratives, the minor recitations and song compositions, and experiences of men and women who gave them, as remembered by Wita-pa-no-xwe are given in the appendix, note I.

*529 owa ke'naki'kweng. ok ela'ngundieng wei'teina'kot' teli' wi'-
 tesmuk'ai'-nen yu'ni lona'pe e'ha'ke't' ok we'mi yu'ta li'
 wa'kot lo'mwe no'tei we'ndji aha'nhukwi k'e'i'wa wa'ni lona'pa.
 e'li ahi'hwu'ska lomwe'kami'k' we'ak'hakami'ke dihili' kico'n-
 damon na'ni' ke'tan'to'wit' wunda'kwi wehe'nda'panaxi'neng
 eoxpi'ye e'lai'ke'tup' kikaya'yomanani'nga. we'mi taneni' kwun-
 djia' wolate'nami'nen e'li ala'pa ndao'panaxi'neng ne'ako
 pa'xakwenami'eng' nate' ga'ta ki'ci tama'xoma'ne.

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also are supplied with an officer to protect us. And my kindred, it ^{539x} is evident that we have help since this Delaware conduct in ceremony ⁷⁹⁶ is everywhere known since ancient times from place to place as the Delawares migrated. Because truly indeed, in the ancient world since the beginning of the earth was made by the Great Spirit back in the land of the sunrise on the coast where lived our deceased ancestors. Wherefore all of this should delight us because tomorrow is a new day and before we reach noon-time¹ we must complete the service.²

¹ For the ceremony to extend over noontime of the next day would bring it into the thirteenth day, by which the concept of "twelve," symbolizing the progress of the ceremony through the twelve heavens to the abode of the Great Spirit, would be broken. [201]

² After the delivery of this address the women and young men prepare for the *astehomwin*.

The old women who have had any spiritual experiences are usually expected to take part first. They are given the preference. The turtle-rattle, to begin with, remains before the master of ceremonies. The old woman who has decided to dance takes the turtle and walks out into the path in front of the master-of-ceremonies. The man who has been decided upon to help the women and the young men is standing there also and when the woman takes the rattle he takes his place at her left and his assistant behind him also with a rattle.

They then begin dancing around the 'White Path,' she singing her chant. Any one present can now join in the dance, with the exception of children. They pass around the 'White Path' stopping at the usual intervals between the songs. (This is done to give opportunity for a short rest). Thus they move two abreast, the men dancers behind the male leader and his assistant, the women dancers behind the woman who is singing. There are speeches made by these women as in the case of the men of the preceding nights. They make the circuit around once, stopping before the master of ceremonies where they began. (For songs see Appendix note 1).

Any young women or young men who feel the impulse to try out a song they may have acquired perform in the way just described.

If any one, moreover, should desire to lead a dance but does not feel able to do it himself or herself, he may induce one of the men who have recited their visions to lead the dance in their place. This is called "hiring," *dalow-kas'ia ndul' il-kas'kwun*, literally "hiring some one to support one." The employer in such a case derives spiritual benefit the same as though he had led the dance himself. The payment for this service is an arm-length of wampum.

At the end of which the Attendants bring in hunting and meat which is divided among those wishing to eat. The hides of such deer as have been killed are given to the old women, generally to those who have recited their vision chants on the evening before.

VII

THIRTEENTH MORNING OF THE CEREMONY
FINAL DANCE AROUND THE CENTER POST

339 yu'kwe me'tet i'ka maxto'xan' to'li yu'ki'k' daxkwe'omona'nak
ke'ta wit'ka'xi't' ok wi'tet'ca'ka'me'ti't' kwo'teomig. ok
we'mi lon-o'wak naheli' tami'masomona'nak we'miawe'n' ke'ski-
a'tenapei'xta't' tami'ki'e'te'. ok tota' ci'x'kandj awe'n e'laxkwit'
naheli' tami'ke't'. ka'tei yu'ki'k' tuxkwe'omona'nak' nate yu'ni
sko'nde wu'ndji a'lami wola'me'ne'yo. ki'oi wola'me'ti'te' nate
wa'ni wi'tet' tama'hema't' cuhi'hilala'ote' ne'li'i ni'kani'xingi-
li'tet' eu'xi'knanak'. ato'ni'ea t'xon' cuhi'hilala'n okte lo'we
onda' cuhi'hilala't' kwi'yaaa! we'mi'te' xkwe't' ni'kani'xi'ng wun'dji
i'ka pe'tet' e'li wi'kame'ti't' naxku'tam lo'we'te' we'miawe'n
huxu!

wanlei' elangu'ndieng la'pi' tali' ongo'melon we'mi ni-maxto'e-
tuk' lon-owa'tuk' noakino'xtuk' ok daxkwe'ma'tuk' ok naheli'
we'mi ne'k tami'masomona'nak. ge'hola ei'ki o'nda wola'p-
anaxi'neng o'nda wolika'kweng na'ni k'xa'sona ki'ekwuniki'eu'x
o'nda pe'tet' ox'e'tang we'mi elama'kami'k. e'li me'tet' a'to'ni'ea
t'yu'kwun' kono'tei yu'ni tala'cho'sinen o'nda mame'ndowa'meng
ko'xona ke'tan'to'wit' kowa'to'nen we'mi. ok ga'hane eiki-
no'le'lendam o'nda wit'e'ndieng ok ahi'hwu'ska xing'oxkwun-i'.
m'kot' yu'ni pa'tamweok'ano'na ok a'hi ga'cahosowa'kan ne'ni
mwi'kamsoewa'kan wa'ni k'ta'ekasomona me'tei xolan'i'ti lo'wi-
xta'k'. ok ola'hanen nen'kwu'ti kwutai'kani ke'k' k'tenha'onen

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THIRTEENTH MORNING OF THE CEREMONY
FINAL DANCE AROUND THE CENTER POST539^x
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"There now the time has come for all these our sisters to join and dance, and join in a single file outdoors." And all the men and children besides, everybody may wear Delaware garb and go into the Big House. Yet whatever anyone wears it is the rule to go in. But women, from right here next the door, shall begin to form in single file. When they have formed a line then the assistant Concluder¹ should shake the Leading Tortoise-Rattles. Ten and two times he shall shake them and shall say when shaking them, 'kwi-ya-!' And all of the women from the leading one through to the end of the row shall answer, all of them, and say 'hu-+!'

I am thankful, my kindred, that again I address you all as brothers, men, young men, our sisters and also all those our children. It is truly fine that we have good weather this morning, that we are so well blessed by him our elder brother, the day moon, when his coming illuminates all the earth. For now it is ten and two days since we have performed here while we were pleading earnestly with our father, the Great Spirit, as we all know. It is truly fine and I am glad when we are helping each other, and when this our prayer-worship is given such great consideration, and for the marvelousness of the service of those our Attendants now soon to be finished. And there is here for each one, one shoulder-length of wampum that we pay them, although

¹ After the trying out dances of the minor participants on the twelfth evening the scene has closed for the night and the master of ceremonies is giving the opening address, with instructions for the procedure of the thirteenth morning. The final dance now to be ordered takes place around the center post of the Big House beneath the images of the Great Spirit before which a serious prayer-call is given. It bears the name of Tama'hama, "conclusion."

² The master of ceremonies is so designated now.

³ As the leader cries kwi-ya-! the first woman in the line answers with hu-+ followed by the next until all have been heard from consecutively as they "count off."

As the cry hu hu hu resounds in turn down the line of women, they form inside the Big House in the manner indicated by the diagram (fig. 13) and proceed around the dance ring as shown by the double black lines, dancing to the points marked, and stopping. Then so on until they circle four times around the center posts. As they circle around the 'grandfather' they raise their heads to touch the images as on the previous occasions during the night dances. This time, however, some of them are carrying the prayer sticks. Those having them touch the images with them; this being what we might term a more intense form of prayer since the prayer sticks are employed. It might be noted that the six decorated prayer sticks symbolize the six hu-+ cries of the prayer-call, the six plain ones the six hu-+ cries, given each time they pray.

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wola'haxa'ne' alowa'stu' ne' mwikmo'sowaka'nowa e'li ahi-
hwa'eka su'ken yu'ni mwiks'ndameng'.

akuwa'pona. ni nga'ekia' lowe't eliki'xtik'. eukwu'nd is'p'tel-
pi'pondawona'nak ki-kayo'yemonan'inga ebela'kamotomi'xtit' lowe'-
yok hang wa'ni a'eka's mwikmo'sowa'kan o'nda tan-de'ube't ok o'nda
xa'm'kweng ok o'nda tepiha'tak' da'xana ok o'nda teik'hi'ke'w'
we'mi ta'neni pi'lachsoowakan wundji woli'laeha'nen na'ni nehela'-
lkweg'. e'li me'tei i'ka petena'kai'hena o'nda tomahome'eng'.
pona'elondamut'an elangu'ndieng' la'pi aye'ma o'lama'ki'e'ngwe
la'pito' a'cowi ga'ti'ngge nayu'ni la'pi to'ndala'ehcei'nen.

ok oomute' elangu'ndieng ku'nu kutena'u'ki ke'ko ga'ta lowe't
woli'kena'ke'is'ndamuk'. lowe'nhang' awe'n o'nda we'lhik' ponas'-
la'ndang 'te'hing ta'li kiei'xan pona'elondamowa'kan. ok o'nda
woli'ponaselo'ndang a'powat' tali' wola'cho's'in ga'tei o'nda mayta'e-
ho'sit' ne'ni me'thik e'li awe'n o'nda maya'i pona'elo'ndang
pona'asowa'kan. a'hihwa'ka a'hot e'li ka'ta wendjajkana'wona
na'ni lona'poo'kan kwu'ndji-te ga'eki matteu'xola'nen wendji'-
aik ko'xona'ning o'nda a'la 'haka'taming yu'tali o'ndala'u'sieng.
yu'ni'xane' 'htohe'pi nate' y'uta acha'te e'li na'yu wundji'ayu'
ha'kin.

gehela' elangu'ndieng na'ne newu'ndji hang' winowa'melon ta'li
awe'n witei'lae'm'kwun eitako' wunda'makwun e'li ta'm'echa'ng
nowa'ni ke'ko. na'neni di'hilinamen lo'mwe na'tel. te'xi'hang
delama'bi' ako' te-pi'hile'i lona'elondamowa'kan. newu'ndji-
hang' wola'te'namin o'nda awe'n miku'mit' kek'.

ok akka'eak ga'ta kiei'xtuk' ke'k' ta'xanu'ndjung we'ni'te awe'n
naya' ke'k' mi'la' ok awe'n li'tehate o'nda me'tei k'teu'iting' kwo'-
teoming lomatha'te kobo'kan nate' neni tala'nehin awe'n ne'li-i
ke'k' mila'ndji.

me'tei elangu'ndieng yu'kwe o'nda mekeni'iki'kan-ukwe'ng
yu'kik' moxo'msona'nak euxoni'kanak nate' alomi'hile' to'li
toma'homa'nen. me'teita yu'kwe ki'conau'ki'hina' to'li wi'kwi-
exko'nen yu'ni ko'xona mwi'kamakowa'kan. ok elangu'ndieng
yu'kwe wu'ndji o'nda matexwe'ng te'ka woli'kale'lo'ndamux

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worth much more are their services, because exceedingly heavy is this ^{539^x}
which we are doing.¹ 796

Hardly, for example, can I tell how precious it is. But, however, we have heard our deceased ancestors as they were speaking about it say, according to the custom, that the labor of the Attendant, when he makes fire, when he feeds us, when he provides plenty of fire wood, and when he sweeps the House clean,—all of this purification is the cause of bringing joy to the One who created us.² For now we have moved along toward where the ceremony closes. Let us consider, my kindred, if it would not bring us good health if again next year right here once more we perform the ceremony.

And besides, my kindred, there remains one more matter, something I want to say for you to bear well in mind. It is said traditionally, when any one on Good meditates in his heart, there is formed the thought. And when he thinks of good it is easy to behave well, but when he misbehaves it is the Evil that a person seriously thinks about as concerns his life. It is exceedingly hard because it is necessary that we prepare the soul-spirit in order that we shall be able to take it back home again to where it belongs, to Our Father, when its use is finished here where we live. Here in this place it is the body that shall remain here because here is where it belongs in the ground.³

Indeed, my kindred, that is why, as it is said, I plead with you that everyone take part and help me, or call it to my attention if sometimes I forget something. Always have I seen it this way since long ago. Yet at times, as it is said, I feel not to have grasped it sufficiently in mind. That is why, as it is said, I feel well pleased when any one calls my attention to something.

The Attendants must prepare wampum in a wooden bowl and every person shall be given three beads, and every person who wishes to, when he is now leaving to go outdoors, there where sets the hominy mortar may deposit them, whoever has been given these wampum beads. [25]

And now, my kindred, here when for the last time we are touched by these our grandfathers the turtle-rattles, that is the beginning of our concluding act. Now here at last we are ready to end this Our Father's service. And, my kindred, now from hence as we are going

¹ The master of ceremonies having now brought the worship to its close now makes his final bow with an eloquent declaration of humility, a summary of the spiritual force of what has been done and an appeal to the loyalty of his tribesmen.

² Another designation for the Great Spirit; as the explanation runs, "We are his children." [776]

³ Mention has already been made, in the introduction, of Delaware eschatology, how it is believed that the heart is the seat of one soul, the blood of another remaining on earth after burial. [775]

*59 e'li na'xpo'xwenen ne'ni la'a'pe kwe'nanowa'kan. kwu'ndji kwut-
ga'xtone'li wola'tenami'nen e'li we'mi man'itu a'xpita'eng
xkwit'ha'kamik ok ne'kik hukwe'yung e'nda lelam-u'kuk
hwimbone'm'ko'nanak naholi' na'ni ko'xona ke'ta'ntowit pe'tei
kiec'lemukong yu' laha'pa nane' t'xi'.

yu'kwe elangu'ndiseng mekonihilik ma'epa'tama'y we'miawe'n
kiteite'he'li pa'tama'n ok kowa'tonen wehe'ndji'pan tall'
k'cuti'hina ok na'xpo'xwenen ne'ni ke'k pi'naks'tamen e'li
na'lon-ent kute'ha'nen e'nda i'kalangu'lieng ko'xona'niq wendji'-
sai'k ne'ni la'a'peo'kan, ok pona'elondam'u'tam we'miawe'n
kitei'te'he'li i'kalango'wo hukwe'yung ok konaxpale'tama'nen yu'ni
kute'hamona ke'k a'xni'ea pitao'pane teli a'upale'tama'nen
e'nda le'lemu'kuk na'ni ko'xona ke'tan'towit pe'tei kiec'lemu'k-
ong.

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home, you must take good care, for you are carrying with you the spirit of Delaware worship. From now on for one year at least, we shall enjoy benefit from all the spirit-forces given us, those on top of the earth and those up above as they were created to have mercy upon us, and besides from him Our Father, the Great Spirit, even Our Creator. This will be all for this time. 59x
76

Now, my kindred, for the last time we go out to pray, everybody with all his heart. And you know that we shall go out to the east and shall carry with us the wampum that is left unused because that is our heart¹ when we appeal for a blessing to our father with whom belongs the Delaware's soul. And let us consider, every one of us earnestly, as the prayer reaches up above, and we express our faith with this wampum in our heart, because through ten and two levels of the sky we lift our prayer-appeal to where dwells him Our Father the Great Spirit, even the Creator. 77a
77c

¹ A short discourse on wampum given in the introduction (page 64) mentions this symbol.

² Upon this announcement the wampum beads remaining available for this purpose are tied together into one string (the informant remembered when the Big House treasury contained fifteen or twenty strings, or arm lengths, but in recent years the total length has decreased to some twelve or fifteen feet) and held resting on their hands in a line reaching from one end of the row of people to the other as far as it will go. Facing east they raise the prayer-call, six times calling ho+ and six times há+. This concludes the rite.

With this prayer the last word of the Bringer-in who has at the same time been Master of Ceremonies pronounces his last word of formality, his duties are ended before the sun has reached the noon point of the thirteenth day since the worshippers have convened—the termination point established by traditional ruling. And the great ceremony is ended. The assembled families now prepare to betake themselves home. As the Big House is emptied, the ceremonial property is removed by the Attendants, the premises swept out, the doors set in place, the bar posts raised as a symbol of vacancy—a method of "locking up" habitations when the occupants are away in vogue everywhere among Algonkian people. Conveyances are loaded with camping paraphernalia and household goods and the prairie roads become dusty with the passage of the Delaware cortège on its way in various directions to distant homesteads.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

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APPENDIX

Note I. Specimens of Recitation Songs Given in the
A'taho'mwi'n Performance.

NOTE II. The Myth of Red Cedar and the Seven Stars
(Pleiades).

NOTE III. Chief Elkhair's Vision of the Journey of the Soul.

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[p. 164 is blank]

APPENDIX

NOTE I

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787 Specimens of Recitation-Songs Given in the A'tcho'mwin Perform-
ances.

The following song recitative of one of the oldest women will serve as an example of the type of performance enacted by the women who have had spiritual experiences. The performer was Mawa't-eh, "Bundle-in-good-condition," a Munsee woman the grandmother of the informant who died about 1914 at an estimated age of 109.

Her song (diatophone record G)¹ relates to a "mermaid" which she had encountered in a river when a child of eight or nine years of age, determined by the event of the "falling stars" referring to a rain of meteors which she remembered seeing. The informant had heard her experience narrated many times during her life and her song chanted for many years in the Annual Ceremony. Hence he knew both well. The experience as related was as follows:

She was being taken on horseback by her mother across country on a journey to purchase some whiskey as was the custom among the women at that time. Her mother was riding the horse when, coming to a river which had risen by the freshets, she fell off in mid-stream. Neither she nor the horse were seen again. The little girl, Mawa't-eh, remained on the bank alone. No one knowing what had happened for nine days the child existed without human help. Finally a passing party discovered her and restored her to relatives. Then she related the unusual experience, how shortly after the accident a spotted woodpecker came to her every day bringing sufficient bread to keep her alive. To her the bird appeared as a little man garbed in native clothes and wearing a little hat all patterned and decorated to correspond with the markings on the birds feathers. It was not until the fourth or fifth day that she discovered him to have human form; one time when on the point of leaving he turned his back. Her benefactor sustained her with magic food. The next day of her lonely sojourn by the fateful river, there appeared to her a female emerging from the water, the lower part of whose body was that of a fish. Long streaming hair some yards in length floated about her covering her upper parts. The child tried to help her from the river when she asked her but the water-woman told her that it would be in vain since that was her fate. She announced, however, to the child that she was to be her guardian henceforth, that she would have health and live to a very, very advanced age.

She concluded her mission by telling the poor child that she would

¹ In collection of the Museum of the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

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not behold her again until a time when she would be seen in a dream precisely one year before death would remove her from the world, by which sign she would know that she had a year to live. Mawa'te's verity grew old with full confidence in her vision and lived for almost a century to chant her song of the "mermaid" visitation every year at the woman's part of the ceremony. On her one hundred and eighth year as was thought, she declared that the "mermaid" appeared to her as preordained and announced to her family the meaning of the event. Precisely one year from that day, having settled her affairs in the meantime, she lay down peacefully and died.

We have every reason to regard this experience and narrative as being typical of the old Delaware psychic life.

Several other minor experiences, the recitation of which fell into the final stage of the annual ceremony, are given in the following abstracts.

Witapano'xwe's mother, Hannah E. Big Deer (Armstrong) or Yu'ctin (from Justina, a German name), of the Pole' group, when a small child was treated by her parents in a manner to evoke sympathy. They often called her Sa'kia, or "Sauk," a term of derision, because she was so dark. This was done, following custom, to cause her to have a vision. She went about grieving, finally wandering to the river bank where she stopped under a tree-root which hung over the bank. She pulled at the earth under the tree until it was about to fall over and kill her, when pe'tha'kowe, "Thunder," came and, holding the tree up led her to safety and promised to help her. She never said much about it except that the Thunder took her up into the clouds to show her his power.

William Brown (Tu'k'sit group) also had Thunder for a helper. He never recited his vision in the main ceremony, but during the a'teho'mwin he told how "Those Beings," without mentioning their names, took him up above. He said that they had nice feathers in their hair which they waved to make lightning.

Witapano'xwe for his part, like many of the younger men who did not consider themselves quite capable nor mature enough to lead (wendji'kane'i) in the serious part of the ceremony, has been accustomed to take part in the dance-leading (a'teho'mwin) on the twelfth night. This performance was merely a dance, the song accompaniment to which is a brief composition hinting at the event connected with his vision. As noted in connection with the a'teho'mwin dances, the performers do not carry on the protracted sermon recitations and the procession intervals around the White Path.

Witapano'xwe's rehearsal composition is as follows:¹

¹ Dictophone record. H. State Museum collection. The kindness of Mr. Harold MacGuffin should be acknowledged here for his loan of a dictophone in the process of recording the Delaware chants.

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nata nek tele'lem-u'kun
wani lo'nape e'lelomu'kuk
awi'tape naxpe'lemukuk
we'mi ne'xpe'lamu'ko wani lona'pe
kwe'na'mowi

Free translation.

Brought to you are those same blessings
That the Delaware is blessed with,
As to one of the tribe, the blessing is extended;
All the Delaware is blessed with
Through his religion.

He repeats this song over and over again until he has completed the circuit of the White Path, and returned with his line of dancers to the point where he arose to lead.

The informant also happened to remember the song of Joe Washington (Ni-ka'nipaxo'xwe "Leading-Man")¹

dihilono'men a'we'moxweya'ne
yu'ni el'ma'kamik
wa'ni lona'pe pa'tamweo'kan
dihilono'men a'we'moxweya'ne
ayaya'ne el'ma'kamik
awita'peokano'wa

Free translation.

This is how I do,
When I travel over this earth,
The Delaware religion!
This is how I do when I travel
When traveling over the universe.
Their tribal relationship!

Kwi'ya kwi'
Hu"

¹ Dictophone record H. State Museum collection.

² The first, or leading dancer's, ending cry.

³ The second, or assistant dancer's ending cry.

NOTE II

RED CEDAR, A SACRED TREE

*5A yu'kwe nowe'ita konu'tomen e'lhata'ka'wonit' wa'ne' kemo'omo'se'na
 popxo'kwos a'hi ka'helen-au'ki li'nahaka'lkwusu. o'nda awe'n max-
 kwisit' h'wi'ta ci'tako wika'ta wola't'haka'wenu o'nda ko'la'wit'
 awe'n wu'ndji poka'kwi'sin. ok o'nda wu'aki pali'le'k tota'tali'
 naka'lkwusu wa'ni popxo'kwus o'nda pi'lhikaa'sik' wi'kwom

ok wani' lona'pe o'nda pa'tama't xingwi'ka'ning ap'tei popxo'kwus
 naka'lkwusu o'nda pi'lhikaa'sik' yu'ni xingwi'ka'on. ok na'nepi'ake'k'
 ehelak'wi' nhakalkwu'sit' lowe'nhang' pi'lhiksu'tin ok comu'te'
 we'mi me'xke'xwit' e'ni non-u'stang yu'ni pi'sun't mitcha't-
 owakan owa'to'n toli' nhaka'lkwusin wa'ni popxo'kwus. wala'xane
 nica'a'uki pilli elinak'ho'ki aki'ko ka'aki nhaka'kot' onda pi'lhik-
 suting yu'ni o'nda bi'sun mitcha'tin

euk' nalowa'ni popxo'kwus to'nda ni'kanixi'nan ma'ni'u a'pi'taund'
 tei'tanawu'akan wu'ndji awe'n wuli'kai'hil'a'n e'nda k'tei'xale'-
 tang ne'ni kwecha'te'k. e'li na'neni toli'mkwu'sin toli'te ta'pa'la'n
 ok woli'ha'n oxwi'se e'nda winowa'mkuk.

ok ahihwu'ska lo'mwe wa'ni lona'pe wendausit' pi'pondawa-
 na'nek ki'kayoyamona'ni'nga toli'lowe'ne'yo lo'mwehund' a'po'ple'n-
 dwak ani'kanik' a'ka'eilawixtit' lan'u'nga ni'cae hund' xi'yok wix-
 ka'utei na ma'tateite ni'hine'xkwusi'yuk. ne'ka'ke a'kacilawitit'
 lan'u'nga. euk' wu'aki pilae'yok ke'ko weheli'ngwe'hela'tit' wixka-
 utei ne'li a'pa'maka'tit' pe'ma'ca'e'k son'a'onge'i' wixka'utei keko-
 layul ni'payte'k ni'cae a'so'n'a ga'xti elina'koxtu'. nahu'nd' wixka-
 utei na'ni pi'lai ikawu'ndji kekolu'kwun kwuti ne'li a'so'n'a. nace'
 to'lami wa'kwusine'yo. ok nahalowi't o'e'ti awe'nik gome'ti

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NOTE II

THE MYTH OF RED CEDAR AND THE SEVEN STARS

Reference to the stars and to the cedar tree as spirit-forces in the course of the text seems to call for the insertion of the following narrative in the study. It was dictated by Witapano'xwe in explanation of that part of the ceremony in which cedar was given to the fires in the Big House as spiritual 'food.' 539^x
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[77]

RED CEDAR A SACRED TREE

Now I am explaining what is the purpose of him our Grandfather Cedar,¹ how in many different ways it is used. When a person has a swelling in his feet or his legs it is good medicine as a steam bath for one to reduce swelling. And when after a recent death anywhere that cedar is used for purifying the house. 589^x
824
[75]
783]

And when the Delawares worship in the Big House cedar is always used for purifying the Big House. And that night when the time arrives for its use it is said to be a purification-agency and also all the red men who understand this Medicine-eating² know that the cedar is used. Although two other different kinds are used as well for purification when this Medicine-eating is going on.

But that cedar is the leading spirit-force that is given for strength for anyone's healing, when inhaling the smoke. Because that very thing is the purpose intended in treating and healing his grandchild when he begs it of him. [776
757]

A very long time ago in the life of the Delawares we have heard our deceased ancestors how they said, in ancient times when there were living men of great spiritual power; seven of them, it was said, all at once were not seen any more. They had gone those prophets, men departed. But young pure youths³ blessed with a vision of something all at once while walking about along the ridge among rocky cliffs—all at once a thing upright there, seven stones almost alike. And then it was said that all at once the youth was thence spoken to by one of these stones. Then they came to be known.⁴ And more and more 539^x
773

¹ The specific native term for cedar is a derivative of "popping."

² This is the proper designation in Delaware for the Peyote ceremony; "Medicine-eating" referring to the eating of the Peyote bean (*Lophophora*).

³ One need hardly be reminded that these are the young men ignorant of the ways of the world, of sin and carnality, brought up under the tutelage of solicitous parents, observant of the religious rules and guide⁴ in their conduct of life by the spirit-forces which appeared to them; the life ideals of the Delawares.

⁴ Indicating that these prophets to escape the importunities of people seeking help from them had concealed their identity by transforming themselves into rock among the mountains.

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i'ka e'yak e'li nale'toma ne'kik a'ka'e'ilei'ti't le'nowak.
 wi'ka'neti ne'k'eton i'ka lo'ting'e kekola' yu'ni mata awe'n
 yu'ta. a'hi ami'ka na'lap'i awe'n mu'xkaon keko. yu'kik ni'cas
 owoli'nak'su'wak kowe'yok. a'lond'e awe'n toli'na'o ma'la'e'i
 pop'o'k'sak k'otalina'k'sin. ee'la'honeni ta'li wei'teina'kwut' tali'
 ki'xgangundi'ne'yo wa'ni pop'xo'kwus ok wani ko'we enk' we'na-
 mwateri pi'li li' mi'kwu'sowak ma'ni'towa'kan o'nda ki'ee'loma't'
 na'ni kice'lom-u'kogg. we'namwateri kwute'li tale'lom-u'kuk enk'
 e'li'ti mote'inowak.

ok tei'te kwutena'u'ki li' nhaka'kwusu wa'ni pop'xo'kwus
 wihi'ndji eheli'k si'ke'n.

la'pi nama'la'ok ne'kik kacilei'teik le'nowak to'li e'toma'
 hi'tkwi'ne'yo. la'pi alomake'yok ahi'ami'ka na'kondj la'pi
 ma'xkaon. etki'kwi wa'kwusi'xti't ke'kotai' yu'kik hukwe'yung
 me'ni'xingik la'e moca'pane ni'cas ala'ngok ok wi'kwusowak o'nda
 me'tei' nama'lond' na'lon'e'k gacawe'nik ok nane'wundji yukwe'.
 petei' ako' kwute'li iya'pi'yok ki'ka'xti'ng'e. ee'la'honeni dihi'l-
 owe'n ki'kayo'yomona wundji'xan toli' wa'kwusin ma'ya'i wa'ni
 pop'xo'kwus e'lat'haka'wanit'.

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widely persons constantly went there because those prophet men were there. All of a sudden when several had gone there to the place where they were, no person was seen there. But again after a very long time some one found them. Here were these seven beautiful appearing pine trees. And some of the individuals appeared as cedars in outward appearance. This very thing there shows evidence that they are closely related, the cedar and the pine, although in a different way gifted with the power of spiritual force when created by the Creator. However, they were placed together as one since both are conjurors. 539x 773

And there is more than one way otherwise to use the cedar, for the purpose of coloring.

Again they notice that those prophet-men had become trees. Again they went away and it was a very long time afterward before they found them again. As soon as they were known here these had formed in a group up above in the middle of the sky as seven stars¹ and they are called, when they are seen, as though they were great persons, for which reason from then on until now they never stay in one place during the year. That is what was said by our ancestors from whom it was rightly known that the cedar was of medicinal purpose. [82] [151]

¹ The Pleiades.

NOTE III

Chief Elkhair's vision of the Journey of the Soul.

775 The informant in discussing the character of the soul and its future
787 estate here gives an account of the belief of the Delawares as it was reviewed by Chief Elkhair at each performance of the Big House ceremony at some time during the performance when occasion offered itself to deliver a lecture of instruction on this interesting subject to the younger members of the company. While the recitation was fundamentally based upon the experiences indelibly impressed upon the mind of Elkhair in a vision that he at one time received, we recognize, nevertheless, the common catechistic pattern of belief which is fairly general throughout the whole of Delaware religious teaching. Therefore it is rather an example of the latter than a peculiar or individual property of Elkhair's. On account of the importance of this revelation in explaining the Delaware answer to that universally engrossing query as to what becomes of the soul, I have placed the heading here in the appendix instead of in the introduction, to give it the emphasis it seems to deserve.

Elkhair's vision dates back to an earlier period in his life, before the Peyote religion had been introduced among the Delawares. In it he beheld a bird of monstrous size resting upon a mountain. It was toward this landmark that he was led by a spirit who undertook to conduct him as far as the soul of a living being could go. It was apparently to instruct him in the nature of the soul's pilgrimage after death that the revelation was given him. He was accordingly taken only to the point in the journey beyond which the soul can not pass until it is released by death.

The path over which he traveled was a crooked, hard road, always up hill for its first stage, and led toward the mountain referred to. In the sketch made by Witapano'xwe to illustrate this realm this section of the journey is marked A, and is called "Beautiful White Path," or "Righteous Path," the same as the dancing path within the Big House itself. The concept carries on the allegory of the Big House as a symbol of the life of man and its continuation in the spirit world.

Upon completion of this part of the journey the first turning point in the path was attained. This was the Cross Roads, enda'cowa ge'xin "where roads cross" (B in the sketch). Elkhair's spirit was told here that none but the man who had led a righteous life could proceed beyond this point and achieve the desired goal that lay still farther along. The unrighteous are turned aside here and wander off on a branch path to some unhappy fate. The cross is the symbol of the cross roads. We find it engraved upon the so-called plain drumsticks (figs. 17, 22) used in the ceremony until the ninth night. At this

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period of the ceremony when the cross-marked drumsticks are put aside to yield place to the image-carved sticks, the ceremony takes on a more exclusive meaning to its celebrants, corresponding to the advance of the soul into a more exclusive realm in its progress toward the ultimate. 775 787

After proceeding past the cross-roads the spirit led his soul to the mountain upon which rested the bird previously mentioned (C in the sketch). This station is called *tee'las endala'usit*, or *endale'lamukuk*, "bird where he lives". This creature bears the name *Ge'kes-xonu'kes* "Storm-maker". And it is he who by the motion of his wings causes storms and winds to rage over the earth below. [821]

The next landmark in the course of the journey after passing by the mountain of the big bird was the abode of the Thunder, *pet'hak-owe endale'lamukuk*, "thunder where he lives" (D in the sketch). On these heights the way was obscured by smoke, clouds and lightning, from which sources the tempests descended upon the earth. It was a terrifying place.

Beyond this mountain of storms the soul of Elkhair could not pass, but he could, notwithstanding this, behold a still more distant ridge of mountains (E in the sketch) called "*pe'maxtiq*" "mountain ridge". While it was forbidden for him to approach nearer he could at least hear the voices of departed souls beyond enjoying their heavenly existence. Here, he was told, the souls are resting until the end of the world when all shall be enabled to cross over the next gap to the final stage of the journey to where the Great Spirit sits. Here souls dwell without care, worry or sickness. But it is exclusive for the Delawares because only those who have been adherents to the Big House can become qualified for this existence. [794]

This, the last stage of cosmic existence is that remote height of heaven where the Great Spirit rests supreme, looking down upon his creation, with his hand resting upon the staff he holds in his hand, which is, in the Delaware mind, symbolized by the center post of their Big House. No one of course knows what the final abode of souls is to be like, since Elkhair had no revelation concerning it. This realm is called *lon-aps'ehat*, "Delaware where he goes".

It should be recalled that these stages of the celestial pilgrimage are the "levels of heaven" mentioned before in the explanation of the ceremony, numbering twelve in all (see page 26).

In commenting upon the assumed nature of souls, *Witapano'xwe* added that the soul appears as an image, without flesh, and that it is thought to look the same as it did in its earthly form.

In explaining the peculiar esoterism of the Delaware creed the informant said that exclusion of aliens was not a fixed property of 775 794

* Identical with a belief current among the Wabanaki.

775 the system, since it was understood that if a person had lived in ac-
794 cordance with all the Delaware doctrines, by being admitted to the
teachings of the Big House, his soul would go where the Delaware soul
goes. This would mean that the individual had become an adopted
Delaware both in body and spirit. He cited cases of Indians of other
tribes who had married into the nation and become members of the
ceremonial group. Such aliens also acquire the privilege of being
buried in a Delaware cemetery, their funerals being celebrated with
Delaware rites. This honor was accorded to his father who was born
a Cherokee. He remembers hearing the chief say at his father's
funeral, "All things to which the Delaware is entitled to are bestowed
upon this soul".

Finally we may again remark upon the consistency with which the
whole conception links together the life of the living Delaware, the
state of his soul and the classical figurism of the Big House.

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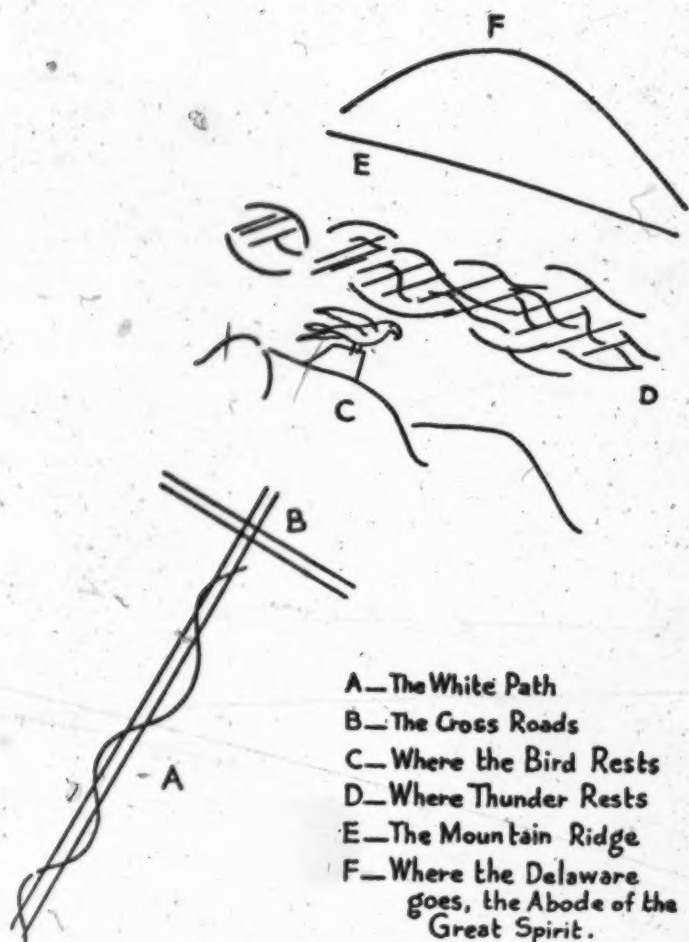


Fig. 20.—Sketch by informant illustrating concept of the journey of the soul after death. (See pages 23 and 174).

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[For the native text pertinent to the Delaware Big House Ceremony and its free translation by the author, see category 116, pp. 80-163, 168, 170-173.]